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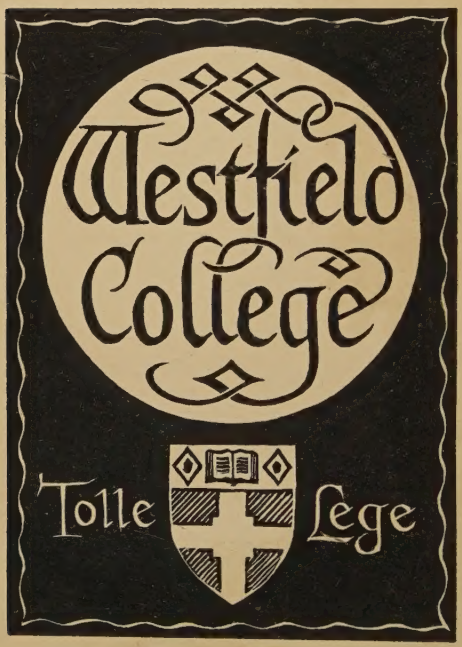

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OF

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PRINCE BISMARCK

EDITED BY

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LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM I. & BISMARCK

WITH OTHER LETTERS FROM AND TO PRINCE BISMARCK

TRANSLATED BY

J. A. FORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1903

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141. Field-Marshal von Roon, Minister for War, to Bismarck 149
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143. Bismarck to Prince Gortchakoff 151
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146. Prince Carl of Roumania to Bismarck 154
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150. Prince Gortchakoff to Bismarck 158
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151. King Albert of Saxony to Bismarck 158
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153. Prince Albrecht of Prussia to Bismarck 162
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154. Minister von Mittnacht to Bismarck 162
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155. Bismarck to Minister von Mittnacht 164
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162. COUNT VON ROON TO BISMARCK 172
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163. CARDINAL G. VON HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK . . . 174
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164. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 175
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165. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK 176
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166. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 176
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167. BISMARCK TO COUNT MÜNSTER 177
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168. BISMARCK TO COUNT HOLNSTEIN 179
Berlin, January 27, '77.
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169. GAMBETTA-BISMARCK. 1877, 1878.

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Château de Pontchartrain (Seine et Oise), October 17, '77.
Offering his services to bring about a personal meeting between Bismarck and Gambetta.

II. COUNT H. BISMARCK TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK 181
Varzin, October 30, '77.
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III. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK . . 184
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IV. BISMARCK TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK . . 186
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V. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK . . 187
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VI. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK . . 187
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VII. BISMARCK TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK . . 188
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VIII. GAMBETTA TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK . . 188
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IX. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK . . 189
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X. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK . . . 189
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A letter confirming the above telegram, and asking Bismarck to fix the hour when it will be convenient for him to receive Gambetta.

XI. GAMBETTA TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK . . 190
Paris, April 24, '78.
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XII. TELEGRAM TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK . . 190
Berlin, April 24, '78.
Announcing that Bismarck is too ill to travel to Berlin.

170. BISMARCK TO PRINCE HOHENLOHE 191
Varzin, January 1, '78.
New Year's wishes, and thanks for able and loyal representation of the German policy.

171. PRINCE HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK 192
Munich, January 5, '78.
Thanks for appreciation of diplomatic and political work. Assurance of unqualified co-operation in the future.

172. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 192
Berlin, January 28, '78.
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173. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 194
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174. COUNT H. BISMARCK TO COUNT HOLNSTEIN 194
Berlin, February 22, '78.
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175. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 197
Potsdam, May 14, '78.
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176. KING LUDWIG II. OF BAVARIA TO BISMARCK 197
Partenkirchen, September 30, '78.
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177. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 197
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Recommending President Simson as the most suitable person for the post of President of the Supreme Court of the Empire.

178. PRINCE HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK 198
Paris, December 10, '78.
Thanks for the bestowal by the Emperor of the insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle.

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179. President Simson to Bismarck 198
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Accepting the post of President of the Supreme Court of the Empire.

180. The Emperor William to State Secretary von Bülow . 199
Babelsberg, August 29, '79.
Bismarck is to be informed that a visit to Vienna is impracticable.

181. Bismarck to State Secretary von Bülow 199
Gastein, August 30, '79.
As the visit to Vienna has been announced it must take place, otherwise serious political consequences would ensue.

182. State Secretary von Bülow to Bismarck 200
Berlin, August 30, '79.
The Emperor acquiesces in Bismarck's visit to Vienna.

183. Count Andrássy to Bismarck 200
Schönbrunn, September 1, '79.
The Emperor of Austria agrees with the tendency and the result of the discussions at Gastein on the subject of a defensive treaty between Germany and Austria. The Czar Alexander himself desires peace, but he is under the influence of persons in his immediate *entourage* who are of a different opinion. The new treaty will be a guarantee for the future of Germany and Austria.

184. Bismarck to Count Andrássy 202
Gastein, September 3, '79.
Geographical and political difficulties retard the negotiations with the Emperor William on the subject of the new defensive alliance. Change in the views of the Czar Alexander, confirmed by his invitation to send Prussian officers to Warsaw. The necessity for the alliance for which both statesmen are working, and the beneficent results anticipated from it.

185. Bismarck to Count Andrássy 205
Gastein, September 20, '79.
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186. Cardinal G. von Hohenlohe to Bismarck 206
Rome, November 26, '79.
The hopes of the Clerical hotspurs to smuggle the Jesuits into Prussia again.

187. General Count Lehndorff, Aide-de-camp to the Emperor William, to Bismarck 207
Berlin, December 15, '79.
The Emperor William's anxiety concerning the state of Bismarck's health.

188. Bismarck to Count Lehndorff 207
Varzin, December 15, '79.
Bismarck reports on the state of his health.

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189. KING LUDWIG II. OF BAVARIA TO BISMARCK 208
Schloss Berg, May 17, '80.
Thanks for sending the Ecclesiastical Bills, and for the lucid explanation of the situation. The King's grief at Bismarck's contemplated retirement.

190. KING LUDWIG II. OF BAVARIA TO BISMARCK 209
Schloss Berg, June 15, '80.
Thanks for Bismarck's kindly attention.

191. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK 209
Wiesbaden, November 18, '80.
Report of impressions received on the Russian journey.

192. CARDINAL GUSTAV VON HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK . . 210
Villa d'Este, March 25, '81.
Birthday congratulations.

193. LORD AMPTHILL TO BISMARCK 211
Berlin, April 1, '82.
Birthday congratulations. Lord Granville's appreciation of Count Herbert Bismarck.

194. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK 212
Berlin, May 7, '82.
Announcing the birth of a son to Prince and Princess William.

195. BISMARCK TO THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK 212
May 7, '82.
Congratulations on the birth of a grandson.

196. COUNT VON SECKENDORFF TO BISMARCK 213
Berlin, January 25, '83.
Enclosing the medal commemorative of the silver wedding day of the Crown Prince and Princess.

197. THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK 213
The New Palace, Potsdam, May 14, '84.
The Crown Prince wishes to discuss some questions with Bismarck.

198. GENERAL VON ALBEDYLL TO BISMARCK 214
Ems, July 7, '85.
The Emperor seized with a fainting fit at Ems. The statements of the Crown Prince respecting his decision to inaugurate no changes should he be called upon to assume the crown, and respecting his wish for an understanding with Bismarck. The Emperor better.

199. BISMARCK TO GENERAL VON ALBEDYLL 216
Varzin, July 16, '85.
Bismarck describes his interview with the Crown Prince on the subject referred to in the preceding letter.

200. THE CROWN PRINCESS FREDERICK TO BISMARCK . . . 217
Berlin, December 24, '85.
Sending a Christmas present of wine.

201. HERR VON PLESSEN, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, TO BISMARCK 217
The Palace, Berlin, May 15, '86.
Reporting that the Emperor has had a slight paralytic stroke.

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202. COUNT LEHNDORFF, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, TO BISMARCK 218
Berlin, March 4, '88.
The Emperor's illness; a crisis anticipated.

203. COUNT LEHNDORFF TO BISMARCK 219
Berlin, March 5, '88.
The Emperor somewhat better; an injection of morphia was, however, necessary during the night.

204. HERR VON BROESIGKE, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, TO BISMARCK 219
The Palace, Berlin, March 6, '88.
The Emperor is sleeping quietly; it has not been necessary to inject morphia during the day.

205. HERR VON BROESIGKE TO BISMARCK 220
The Palace, Berlin, March 8, '88.
The Emperor's condition is very serious.

206. HERR VON LIPPE, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, TO BISMARCK 220
March 8, '88.
The Emperor is fast losing his strength.

207. HERR VON PETERSDORFF, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, TO BISMARCK 220
The Palace, Berlin, March 9, '88.
The Emperor's condition has taken a turn for the worse; the members of the Imperial family have been summoned to the bedside.

208. COUNT RADOLINSKI, COURT CHAMBERLAIN, TO BISMARCK . 220
Landshut, March 11, '88.
The Emperor Frederick will receive the Ministers in the train, on his way to Berlin.

I

Bismarck to Albert v. Bülow.

April 12, '48.

Dear Albert,

The rush of business, consequent on the Landtag being closed earlier than was anticipated, has prevented me from finishing this letter sooner. The final sitting was held the day before yesterday; after I alone had protested in a long speech, in the interests of the agricultural portion of the country's against Hansemann's * extravagance in favour of the *panier percé* of industry, the House, carried away by a very good speech by v. Vincke, voted a credit of 40 million Marks by a large majority. The Landtag passed this vote, as it has passed everything since April 1st, under the influence of fear for what might happen, and against the conviction of the majority. Hansemann did, indeed, in his reply to me, make a kind of promise that no extraordinary taxes should be imposed until after the elections, but he was evidently actuated only by an apprehension concerning the voting. I am somewhat anxious as to what use he will make of the supreme power he has thus obtained over the taxpayer's purse, as justice and considerateness are the last qualities to be looked for in him. It is an unheard-of thing for the Landtag to treat the country in this way, by permitting Hansemann (for he outwits the other Ministers) to raise these forty millions in any way he chooses, either by increasing the old or by imposing new taxes. The money might have been granted, if the necessity for it were proved, but explanations ought to have been demanded as to how it was intended to find the money, in case it could

* David Hansemann, Minister for Finance.

not be raised by means of a loan. You see I am still in the midst of political worries. *Au revoir.*

Your affectionate cousin,

BISMARCK.

2

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 7, '51.

Agreeably to your wish, I send you in the bearer of this letter, Assessor Rudloff, a person whom you may employ for literary and other purposes. I should like to know as soon as possible what you think of him. I found him very willing, but somewhat impetuous, and liable to make mistakes.

You must, with your usual kindliness, excuse me for having been prevented by the extraordinary stress of business and of events, in which I feel as if I were on a treadmill, from replying to your interesting communications. The excessive work has had such an unfavourable effect on my nervous system, that Barez insists on my going to Detmold to drink the waters. I do not yet see how that can be arranged, and for the present I am going for three days to the Lausitz. I am quite satisfied with my visit to Warsaw, although it was very fatiguing. Czar Nicholas was in excellent health, our master unfortunately not so well. The Czar was like an ichneumon towards the crocodile's egg of constitutionalism, though he appreciated my plea that to use forcible measures in attacking this system, which is playing itself out, would only tend to supply it with the vigour it now lacks.

I am not quite satisfied with the way things are going at Frankfurt, and will shortly write to Herr v. Rochow officially on the subject. I will also inform you more fully of my views than I am able to do at present.

Count Thun seems to adopt the good old Austrian method

of avoiding difficulties, and of desiring to settle matters *de facto;* that is not our position however, the questions must be probed to the bottom, and if they really cannot be managed we must withdraw more and more from the whole affair.

In view of her disordered internal conditions, Austria is far more interested than we are in accomplishing everything by force; our policy, however, is to fight with arguments of reason, and by this means, as also by our firmness, to make an impression on the smaller states.

My wife sends her kindest greetings.

Adieu, dear Bismarck, and continue to think affectionately of your Faithful servant and friend,

MANTEUFFEL.

Your letters are always very welcome to me, please continue them.

3

EDWIN V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 9, '51.

ESTEEMED PATRON,

I have received two letters from you, the first dated the middle of May, from Warsaw, and the second dated May 20th. I communicated both of them to Manteuffel; with respect to the first he told me that the necessary steps have already been taken in connection with England and France, and he returned me the second yesterday. I have not yet had an opportunity of discussing this one with him. I did not show the letter to Stockhausen,* as he is perfectly well acquainted with the subject matter.† I consider this one of the most difficult questions. If you search through the whole history of the Prussian army you will find that the

* Minister for War.

† Concerning the pay received by Prussian officers.

Prussian officers have always been worse paid than any others, but that they have always starved with decorum, and yet played a rôle in society. Instead of making special money allowances, I think it would be much better to do away with the nonsense that a Bavarian, a Darmstadt, or any other German officer is to take equal rank with a Prussian officer. This has never been the case until within the past few years, and it is now killing the Prussian officer. If he is to remain a Prussian officer, his position as such must be authoritatively assured to him. When I was a lieutenant, I was offered the appointment as tutor to a little German Prince, with a captaincy in his army; I regarded this as an insult, and nowadays the Prussian officer is, according to his patent, to rank with all these people! This he cannot digest, and I regard the point as far more important than all money questions. I received a very friendly letter yesterday from General Rochow. I will tell General Gerlach that he wishes to see the list of decorations. My wife wishes to be kindly remembered to you. In sincerest attachment,

EDW. MANTEUFFEL.

4

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *August* 15, '51.

I will only reply now to your kind letter of the 12th. inst., reserving the other points for a later occasion, that the King's majesty told me it was his intention to receive you in Frankfurt, but that there would be absolutely no objection to your coming as far as Mayence to meet him.

His Majesty does not wish to prescribe anything to you, but leaves you to do as you think best.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your obedient servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

5

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

October 4, '51.

Your wife has given mine the pleasure of calling on her, and offered to take a letter to you; I hasten, therefore, to write you a couple of lines that they may reach you by this best and safest of opportunities.

I take the liberty of enclosing for you a copy of a somewhat remarkable effusion of Prince Schwarzenberg's, which Prokesch has shown to me. Count Schlieffen * had prepared a very strong despatch as a reply for Count Arnim,† in which he said that we had taken the good advice offered to us very much amiss, as we had not asked for it, that we are perfectly well able to find our own way and to take it, and that we know well enough that the important and difficult tasks resulting from the disordered condition of their own country leave Austrian statesmen neither the time nor the opportunity to reflect on our relations and to offer advice on them. Although I thoroughly agreed with it in many respects, I did not permit this despatch to be sent off, but decided to write privately to Arnim and explain our standpoint. Lack of time prevents me from fully explaining my reasons for acting thus, but you will understand them; they are essentially that I consider it of importance to avoid offering any provocation to Austria at the present moment, and that I have a particular disinclination to fight only with sharp words.

It would greatly interest me to know whether similar admonitions have been sent to other States, and, if so, how they were received. I have just received your telegraphic despatch relating to the secession of our Provinces.

* Count Albert v. Schlieffen, the official in charge of German matters in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

† Prussian Envoy in Vienna.

The Earl of Westmoreland,* who has just returned from Hanover, told me yesterday that the old King † is in a most distressful mood and in great bodily suffering.

I would like to write more, but my wife is anxious to take the letter to your wife.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your obedient servant and friend,

MANTEUFFEL.

(Enclosure.)

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG TO BARON V. PROKESCH-OSTEN.

VIENNA, *September* 20, '51.

ESTEEMED BARON,

The presence of his Majesty the King of Prussia in Ischl has given the Emperor, our most gracious master, the gratifying opportunity of learning personally the impression made on his Majesty's illustrious confederate by the recently issued Imperial note on the Austrian form of government. The King and his Prime Minister have offered their most friendly congratulations on an event which restores to the Empire the conditions of its stability and its welfare.

We must probably attribute a portion of this praise to the idea that the Prussian kingly power regains an indispensable point of support in the monarchical basis of the Austrian constitution, and we may hope, therefore, that Prussia will regard those Imperial decisions as still another instigation to a closer union with Austria.

Prussia's King and the statesmen who assist him have already taken so many courageous and decisive steps along the path leading to the re-confirmation of the power of the

* John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, English Ambassador in Vienna.
† Ernst August.

government in Prussia, and thereby also in the rest of Germany, that we have no fear of being confronted by a serious difference of opinion on the part of the Berlin Cabinet, whenever there is a question of bringing the influence of both powers to bear on the course of events in Germany.

Many other German Governments have also intimated to us unreservedly their satisfaction and their joy that the full executive power is placed in the Emperor's hands. They regard the removal of the so-called representative system in Austria as an important step towards the consolidation of the political conditions also outside the Austrian state, and do not conceal the wish that advantage may accrue therefrom to their own situation, which in many cases is still tottery. They tell us, however, that it is only the example of the German great powers which can give them strength for a radical move in their own domain.

On the other hand, the revolutionary party is eagerly cherishing the hope that a fundamental antagonism will grow up between Austria and Prussia. This party would reconcile itself for the time being to what it is pleased to call the return to absolutism in Austria, if it would thereby entangle Prussia in the net of its fallacies, defraud Prussia of her real life-power, bring her into contradiction with the demands of her political position, and finally drag her against her will into the abyss of revolution.

The value of the present moment for strengthening monarchy in Europe, and for tightening the internal bands which unite the two German powers, and thus for the return of better times generally, will undoubtedly have been recognised in Berlin. We must hope that in Prussia also it may be the King's will which will decide on the direction politics shall follow for the benefit of all.

Since the old close alliance was restored and confirmed, Prussia has given us absolutely no cause for complaint on this score. We all the more readily exchange with the

Prussian court considerations which are but natural in view of the present condition of affairs.

Communicate this despatch, therefore, to Baron von Manteuffel. Receive, etc.

F. SCHWARZENBERG.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
FREIHERR VON PROKESCH.
BERLIN.

6

GENERAL V. ROCHOW TO BISMARCK.

ST. PETERSBURG, *November* 1, '51.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND,

I have received your intellectual, extremely interesting, and copious letter of the 18-21. ultimo, and cannot describe the pleasure it has afforded me. I greatly enjoyed hearing about you and your work. I see, however, that much remains as of yore, and although you, as an indefatigable champion, have replaced the old withered stem by a young and vigorous plant, you will become ever more conscious of the fact that it is very difficult to set in motion the ponderous treadmill in the Eschenheimer Gasse. There is much more agreement between Vienna and Berlin than there will ever be between the representatives of the two great powers at Frankfurt, as the Presidency there is influenced by such subordinate forces. It is chiefly subaltern influences which dominate the negotiations of the experts. Prince Schwarzenberg is no doubt goaded on in all kinds of ways, but he returns to his own manner of thinking, and we should get along very well with Austria were there not a Prokesch-Osten in Berlin, and if there were not a Herr v. Beust to come in between. The latter has laid a very bad egg in connection with the Hanoverian treaty. Neither Saxony nor Bavaria can dispense with the Zollverein.

Both these gentlemen are animated by the desire and the necessity to put themselves prominently in the foreground in political matters; the super-clever Herr v. Beust in particular, for whom the Saxon coat is too small, would like extremely to play the rôle of intermediary between Prussia and Austria, which are being arbitrarily provoked against each other. Such assumption of political importance, and such instigation, are inconvenient, but at ordinary times they do no great harm; they might, however, be dangerous during a crisis.

If I were at Frankfurt, and possessed as much intelligence as you, I should take an opportunity of speaking plainly to Count Thun on all such obstacles.

Minister Manteuffel has sent me a very good detailed statement of the Hanover treaty. The new tariff is not yet published in Austria, and the Government there will have much trouble in carrying it out in their own country. Minister Bruck, who gave the present direction to Austria's commercial-political affairs, was a visionary, and Hock * is no better—without positive knowledge.

You wonder at the scanty attainments of Münch? He has not many, but he is not so narrow as diffident and petty. You must not look among the gentlemen of the Bund for clear-sighted statesmen.

Bülow,† Oertzen ‡ and Schele are the most intelligent. The first is the most capable of your colleagues, the two others have only a restricted horizon.

I read to Count Nesselrode § the passage in your letter referring to your negotiations with Augustenburg.¶ He laughed very much at your "either hang him or be polite to him."

* Ritter v. Hock, member of the Austrian Ministerial Council.

† Danish lord in waiting, Envoy for Holstein and Lauenburg in the Bundestag. ‡ Mecklenburg Envoy in the Bundestag.

§ Russian State-Chancellor.

¶ Duke Christian August of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg.

The Danes have done us good service with their bad Ministry, for Russia is indignant at the democratic tendency of the Copenhagen Cabinet, and is turning towards us.

Thank faithful Rudloff for his careful abstract, which I have found very useful; give him and Wentzel my kindest regards, and remind Kelchner of my existence. How the poor man must have been run off his legs to reach your villa.

How is Lion Lynar, and does Waldersee* still compose as many poems? Hearty greetings to Count Thun, to your neighbour Nostitz, and to Cowley.†

It is a question whether I shall be able to get away this winter. I am in despair, and cannot put up much longer with the life of a hermit.

Things look very bad in France, and there must be no delay in producing order in Germany; the creation of a central police department is absolutely imperative. We must not run the risk of being surprised.

If the Bundestag does not now secure compliance to its will, it will be a serious matter for Germany.

Place me in the usual way at your wife's feet, and do not forget your

old admirer and friend,
R(ochow).

7

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *November* 3, '51.

I beg to make some confidential observations respecting the Royal autograph letter of yesterday's date.

The proposal to settle the succession on the Duke of Augustenburg in the event of the male descendants of Prince

* Prussian plenipotentiary in the Military Commission of the Bundestag.

† Lord Cowley, British Envoy to the Bundestag.

Christian dying out has been presented at Copenhagen and St. Petersburg. According to the report of Freiherr . . . ,* the Danish Cabinet does not sympathise with the idea. It cannot be denied that the acknowledgment of Prince Christian and his descendants by his marriage with the Princess of Hesse has the great practical advantage of removing all complicated and controversial questions. This advantage of simplicity would be lost if a stipulation were introduced in favour of the possible succession of the Duke of Augustenburg and his brother. The possible claims of the brothers and sisters of Princess Christian, and of the other members of the Glücksburg line, would then also have to be regulated, and this is a task which it would be very difficult to solve. The passage in the Royal letter in which his Majesty states that he cannot guarantee your wishes being carried out is to be especially accentuated. According to the latest news, the Danish Cabinet is ready to accede to the demands urged by Prussia, Austria, and Russia, so that the bad feeling which certainly existed in St. Petersburg will now be removed. Finally, I beg you to read the passage: "the Duke may leave the settlement entirely in his Majesty's hands," as implying that the Duke will in any case follow his Majesty's advice. The Royal Cabinet cannot undertake the independent vindication of the Duke's claims nor be answerable for the results of his endeavours, especially as it appears that the Duke has made some mistake in estimating the revenues of his estates. It is possible that the Danish Government deducts the charges on the estates, while the Duke gives the gross proceeds. This would explain the difference in the estimates.

MANTEUFFEL.

* The name is indecipherable in the original.

8

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *November 23, '51.*

I am much obliged to you for your kind communication of the 19th inst.

I not only entirely agree with you in the fleet question but also subscribe to your general remarks.

In the matter of the fleet we have to do with the visionaries who cherish an undefined idea of a new Germany, and who succeed in working much harm, of which we have just had a sad specimen in the form of an effusion addressed by the ex-King Louis * to the King. He regards the dissolution of the fleet as an act of treason to the country, etc. If we were to yield to these enthusiasts we should be aground in a week. I represented this standpoint to the Prince of Prussia, who viewed it with considerable favour.

I took a special opportunity which offered, before the arrival of your letter, for writing to Prince Schwarzenberg direct on the general relations with Austria. I told him that I did not believe he was the source of this machination, but that I was of opinion he could prevent it, and if he did not soon utter a *quos ego!* breath to utter mine would fail me; there would then be fighting on both sides and, as I believed, to Austria's disadvantage. To this I have received no reply; Count Arnim writes me, however, that the Prince is very much embarrassed.

I quite approve of your not starting or taking up any quarrel with Count Thun. There may be some truth in what Herr v. Nostitz says, but the fact must not be overlooked that any unanimous procedure on the part of the great powers is fatal to the middle states.

* Of Bavaria.

So long as Germany is two-headed, nothing will be attained unless we are in accord, and we should get on very well together if Austria were not such a wonderful partner, in whose composition an immoderately large body, and even strength, are combined with repulsive diseases producing temporary weakness and uncouthness, Conservatism with Radicalism, true distinction with vulgarity, cunning with coarseness, and subtlety with foolhardiness. The removal of these drawbacks seems to be as desirable as it is impossible, for they are deeply rooted in the inmost nature of this state. As Austria cannot be ignored, nothing remains for us but either to proceed to extremities or to put up with it as best we can, taking care that no advantage is taken of us. The superior power must be made to feel something; when occasion offers the giant's fingers must be rapped in such a manner that he experiences merely a sensation of pain, without getting into a rage at the idea that his vanity is offended. The serious side of the intercourse with Austria is that as far as its power reaches no dependence can be placed on it, and it is always ready to play *va banque*. This must not, however, restrain us from opposing Austria when such an attitude is considered permissible and advisable; but a certain reserve should be adopted, by means of which one would lose no more than when a prudent, moderately well-to-do man declines to be a party to a transaction proposed to him by a great spendthrift. The latter is vexed that the other will not hazard the object of his envy, the assured existence; but in the long run the careful man will come off best, and finally have to assist the grandee. It is not, however, to the interests of either the one or the other to hasten the time when this must take place. Although I do not close my eyes to the intrigues of Austria, and am, consequently, not her friend, I see with great apprehension the approach of the moment when this Empire might break up; unfortunately, my reports from Vienna, both official and unofficial, confirm

me in this belief. No one can foresee the consequences of the collapse of such a colossus, which may seriously affect the destinies of the whole of Europe. Affairs are in a very critical state; and even if we do not undertake any mining operations from our side, thus designedly directing the fall on our own house, it is possible that the ruins will do us some injury. What I ardently desire is for the year 1852 to have passed by, and that by that time there may be some stability in France. Rochow writes me that on the whole the Czar * is satisfied with the course of events in Austria, but that Nesselrode disapproves of much, and both regard Schwarzenberg as an unreliable and irregular politician; he apprehends that conflicts with Russia are inevitable. I, on the other hand, consider that Schwarzenberg is the only man capable of holding Austria together, until the Emperor perhaps is able to do so later, and I should have no sort of interest in his fall.

I do not think the Bundestag is qualified to make anything of Germany, and regard it merely as a means of covering the internal ruin; it also serves a useful purpose for the smaller states, whose existence cannot be simply ignored, by offering them a fixed point on which they can save themselves from completely sinking in the slough of their own conditions. I doubt whether it will be possible to improve these conditions without great European convulsions.

In future I shall be very sparing with proposals to be introduced conjointly with Austria.

I have just received your enquiry respecting the opening of the Chamber. I should very much wish you to be present, but hesitate to summon you by telegram; please do your best not to be too late, and if possible be here for the election of the President, which will take place on December 1 or 2. It seems to me that there will be no particular disadvantage in your being missed a little at Frankfurt.

* Nicholas I.

As the King is going to Hanover for the funeral,* he will not open the Chamber in person; I shall do it instead of him, but my opening remarks will be restricted to questions of internal administration, and I shall endeavour to avoid a debate on the address.

Excuse this voluminous statement, I could add much more, but reserve it until we meet. I would give your kindest regards to Count Stolberg if I did not consider it superfluous. In grateful attachment,

Your obedient servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

9

BISMARCK TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

Undated, but evidently written in *February*, '52.

YOUR EXCELLENCY'S

favour, with the enclosure from Herr von Schele, reached me by way of Cologne yesterday.

Dr. Fischer, formerly State-Councillor in Oldenburg, who will be known to your Excellency as the author of several political works, is now living here, and is occupied, among other matters, with working up petitions for the rights of the *Standesherrn*.

Partly by this means, and partly through other relations of older date, he has opened up a correspondence with several members of the old-Conservative party in Austria, especially with Prince Windischgrätz and Count Wurmbrandt. He regards Prince Windischgrätz as the head of the said party in Austria, and as this party's candidate for the succession to Prince Schwarzenberg. There seems to be no doubt that Prince Windischgrätz is held in high esteem by all the Conservative opponents of the present Austrian Prime Minister, and I hear from good sources that the Prince's relations with

* Of King Ernst August, who died on Nov. 18, 1851.

the Emperor have been much improved through the mediation of the Grand-Duchess Sophie. In one of the letters which Councillor Fischer showed me, Prince Windischgrätz gives especial prominence to the necessity of the understanding with Prussia, and Herr Fischer added orally that according to his information the clumsy inconsiderateness in the treatment of German affairs is held up as a reproach to Prince Schwarzenberg, just as the failure of his Hungarian campaign was used to represent Prince Windischgrätz to his Majesty the Emperor as being incapable. In order to disprove the statements made against him, the Prince recently published over his name an account, taken from official documents, of his operations in Hungary. As is perfectly natural, he is most eagerly awaiting the judgment of foreign military experts, and especially the verdict of the Prussian military reviews. It cannot but be advantageous, even if the present political combinations in Austria are not considered, to meet any Prussian sympathies shown by one who in any case is a prominent personality in Austria. I venture, therefore, most obediently to suggest to your Excellency the advisability of taking measures through the Ministry for War or General von Gerlach, so that the criticisms on Prince Windischgrätz's personal defence, appearing in those military reviews which are generally believed by outsiders to reflect the opinion of our official circles, may if possible be favourable, but at all events couched in a spirit of forbearance and good-will.

The impression made upon me by the letters from Count Wurmbrandt was that the Austrian nobility belonging to this party have hitherto occupied themselves less with the endeavour to acquire political importance than with their irritation at and their struggle against the material losses inflicted on them.

v. Bismarck.

(Enclosure.)

COUNT WURMBRANDT TO COUNCILLOR H. FISCHER.

(*Copy*) LIBLIN, *December 27, '51.*

MOST ESTEEMED COUNCILLOR,

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 23rd. inst., which I have just received, but warn you beforehand that you will most probably find my answer unsatisfactory, as customs duties and commerce are out of my domain. I must first make my standpoint clear to you. I believe I am quite right in my opinion that a struggle is going on between movable and immovable property. *Because* I am a Conservative I am on the side of immovable property, and hope it will gain the victory. As I am no connoisseur, I can only judge by what my own five senses tell me of the means which will lead to victory. My simple practical sense names free-trade as the means, and protection as the way to reach this aim. It is evident that the protective duties must be arranged on a constantly decreasing scale, and must be spread uniformly over the greatest possible extent of country. I sent an article containing this view to the *Kreuz Zeitung*, which printed it last March, but added comments of its own which made a very bad impression in this country, and raised the suspicion that the Conservatives in Prussia would not hesitate to use any pretext to make Prussia more powerful and greater at Austria's expense, and to secure it an advantage. It was noticed even then that legitimacy and the idea of justice end where specific Prussianism begins.

If a customs union would be desirable between Oldenburg and Croatia were the latter country inhabited by Germans, it is also desirable when Croatia is inhabited by Slavs,—and if the union between Oldenburg and the Slavonic Croatia is not to be desired, the same would apply if the Croatians were suddenly transformed into Brandenburgers.

I candidly confess that it appears to me that another

political question, viz, dualism, is behind Prussia's proposals in the customs question. And this seems to me to mean in Prussia that all Germany is to become Prussian, with the exception of Austria's possessions in Germany, which are to be left to her for the present at least.

It is possible that a customs union between the Slovaks and the Croatians would be detrimental to the political attitude of Germany, though we must be very clear as to what Germany was, and will be in the future.

The real Germany ceased to exist as soon as there was no united German church. We have for some time past had a confederation of the different mid-European states under the quite unsuitable and inaccurate name of "Germany."—In Austria we now desire a still closer confederation, to include larger states, in any case all Austria, and for the sake of the good objects we have in view are willing that this confederacy of mid-European States shall be styled Germany, if this name contributes towards the speedy and permanent accomplishment of the confederacy.—But anybody who declines to include Croatians in this confederacy of states will virtually exclude all Austria.

If, under some plausible pretexts or other, and not suddenly but gradually, Austria is actually excluded from Germany, the neck also of Catholicism in Germany will be broken; and then it will not be difficult to amalgamate the smaller states with Protestant Prussia.

I have now explained to you quite candidly, and with perfect trust in your fairness, my opinion on the customs question and on the policy followed by Prussia in this question.

I cannot say that this is the opinion of the entire party, but it is shared by the most eminent of my political companions in faith. I am far from expecting that a man of your experience will at once adopt our view; I must, however, reply to your definite question whether you would

be serving the interests of the Austrian Conservative party by opposing the Austrian Zollverein, with a perfectly decided "No."—To make things surer, I will send your letter, to-morrow, with a copy of my reply, to Count Wolkenstein, and will request him, after he has spoken with any men of the party who may be in Vienna, to write himself if he should not agree, or should only partially agree to what I have written to you.

You will gather from what I have said that I must agree with Prince Hohenlohe's speech.

10

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *April* 20, '52.

I have forwarded to the Minister of the Interior the letter respecting Weck,* and will discuss the matter later. I beg only to remark that the said Weck is personally known to me, and that he is an extremely untrustworthy person, who has frequently obtained money from me on the promise of revelations, and has never done anything. He has boasted, in London, Paris, and Carlsruhe, of his acquaintanceship with me, and has even threatened to publish my relations with him; this I could calmly wait for, as he has nothing of mine in his possession, and could but prove the undisputed fact that I was imposed upon by him as I have been by so many others. Herr von Glinka † should, therefore, be recommended to exert the utmost caution. It may be true that Weck is in possession of letters from other Envoys, for he has obtruded himself on many in order to get money, and he is as accessible to the Prussian thaler as to the rouble and the Austrian twenty kreuzer piece.

* A Breslau tradesman, who in 1851 had offered his services to the representative of the Prussian Minister Resident in Frankfurt to watch the Frankfurt democrats.

† Russia's representative at the Bundestag.

You will have received my opening speech; the King was indignant at it, considering it far too weak. You know why I was so moderate; moreover, I do not regard useless reservations, such as the King desired, as a proof of strength.

Bunsen is urging the King more and more into the arms of the peerage. He maintains that the greatest statesmen in England believe that in the course of a few years the continent will fall into two great divisions: a. the Protestant states with a constitutional system whose main support is the peerage, and b. Catholic—Jesuitical—democratic—absolute states. He includes Austria, France, and Russia in the latter category. This I consider to be quite a mistake; there are no such categories, for each state follows a course of development of its own. Frederick William I. was neither Catholic nor democratic, and yet he was absolute. But such things create a great impression on his Majesty. I regard the constitutional system, where majorities have the dominion, as anything but Protestant.

My wife sends greetings, and has your room always ready for you. Write as soon as you can, as you wish to take part in the First Chamber question. I should like to have a communication in writing.

Your devoted servant and friend,

MANTEUFFEL.

II

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

BERLIN, *April* 24, '52.

The debate in the Second Chamber on the bill dealing with the constitution of the First Chamber does not begin to-day, but probably next Monday or Tuesday.

Please let me know whether you are coming.

V. MANTEUFFEL.

12

BISMARCK TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

CITISSIME, FRANKFURT, *April* 24, '52. 5:15 P. M.

I am to come. Does your Excellency consider the Augustenburg affair, or that of Prince Friedrich of Baden about which General Gerlach wrote to me, reasons for my staying here? V. BISMARCK.

13

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

BERLIN, *April* 24, '52. 8:55 P. M.

No, I do not consider them reasons. The debate begins on Monday, April 26th, at noon. MANTEUFFEL.

14

BISMARCK TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

CITISSIME, FRANKFURT, *April* 25, '52. 10 A. M.

To his Excellency, Herr von Manteuffel, Berlin.

I hope to complete the necessary arrangements in order to leave to-day. I should then arrive in Berlin to-morrow evening. V. BISMARCK.

15

KARL V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

April, '52.

Count Burghausen, in accord with my brother and the Ministry, will move as an amendment:

"The First Chamber shall be constituted by a Royal ordinance which has the force of law."

Will you please arrange for a similar amendment to be moved by the right side of the Second Chamber?

Your

MANTEUFFEL.

16

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

BERLIN, *May* 19, '52. 10:45 A. M.

If your business permits, will you arrange to be here next Saturday or Sunday, as that will probably be the best time to wait on his Majesty the Czar.

Kindly inform me by telegraph whether and when you will come. MANTEUFFEL.

17

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *August* 4, '52.

*Gratulor ex animo,** gratefully accept the sponsorship, am just starting (the horses have been waiting a whole hour) for Crossen, from which place I return here on the 14th. inst.

Stir up Canitz † to take a strong stand in the Customs question, especially in Nassau, where he can assume a threatening attitude. Unchangeably yours,

MANTEUFFEL.

* On the birth of his second son William.

† Prussian Minister Resident to the Grand-Duchy of Hesse, the Duchy of Nassau, and the free city of Frankfurt.

18

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

November 19, '52.

Your favour of the day before yesterday impels me to say a few words to you regarding the stage at which our Customs question has now arrived.

When Herr v. Prokesch launched forth here into high-sounding phrases, saying that Austria, moved by higher political considerations, desired above all things an understanding with Prussia, and was willing to sign any commercial treaty even if it were drawn up by the hostile pens of the Ministry of Finance, but that only Prussia, which was speculating on revolution, was the cause of this easy and beneficial arrangement not being made, and when similar expressions reached me from St. Petersburg and from Meyendorff's pen, I instructed Count Arnim in Vienna to ask in the right quarter what all this signifies. We had a double interest, firstly, in guarding ourselves against unjust accusations, and secondly, in warding off intervention offered to us in an unfavourable manner, especially by Hanover.

Count Arnim found Count Buol quite dejected; the offer made to us was the relinquishment of the Customs union, a commercial treaty advantageous to both parties, not encroaching on the liberties of either and valid for twelve years; we are not required to go to Vienna, they will send to Berlin or wherever we wish. They desire to treat only for Austria and not for the coalition states, but only with Prussia, reserving the right to admit the rest of the states later.

The only difficulty remaining is the all-important question of time, but there is every prospect that this also will be overcome. We have already concluded an agreement with Brunswick, and hope to do the same with the Thuringian States during the next few days. As soon as this is done

we can consider the Zollverein as reconstructed, that is to say the Coalition States as excluded; and then we can negotiate with Austria without being inconsistent. Count Buol has already addressed a note to Count Arnim on this point, and the reply is being drawn up here, it will not be sent off, however, until the re-construction of the Zollverein is completed. So the matter stands. All Herr von Dalwigk's talk about negotiations is deliberate lying; one cannot speak of negotiations being conducted when Austria has expressed a wish to negotiate with us and we have not even replied.

It is quite true that when once negotiations are opened up the matter may probably and perhaps must be settled very quickly.

Hanover plays a very bad rôle in the affair, and only the necessity for preserving the agreement restrains me from speaking my mind to Herr v. Schele. It not only refuses to send a plenipotentiary here, but has actually agitated against us in Oldenburg, and warned Brunswick against ratifying the treaty. The Hanoverian gentlemen wish us to negotiate direct with Austria; do they really not see that the possibility of negotiating is the preliminary condition to the attainment of the wish?

I shall be grateful to you, dear friend, if you will soon give me your opinion on the subject, and especially tell me if you see any objections to be raised against the course I am pursuing.

His Majesty has suddenly become very anti-Napoleon, and thinks that the President makes common cause with every revolutionary.

His Majesty finds the long English memorandum against figure III * excellent; I find it confusing, and all the more insufficient as I know already that the English repent it. Nevertheless, I agree with the idea, that if it is at all possible, the English must be kept to their word. For this rea-

* For Louis Napoleon.

son we shall take up the question of the conference in London which you have proposed. Austria does not seem inclined to join.

MANTEUFFEL.

If an arrangement with Austria is to succeed, it is very necessary that silence be maintained, and passions and the newspapers be kept away from the subject. Hence I consider it folly for Herr v. Dalwigk to deliver such speeches, and would rather disavow than sanction them.

19

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *December* 30, '52.

About a year ago Messrs. von Rothschild, the Frankfurt bankers, were here, and expressed the wish to become our court-bankers; in reply to an enquiry on the subject you then stated that Messrs. v. Rothschild had been adequately compensated by loans for anything they had done in the Prussian interest.

In consequence of this report the matter was allowed to drop. It has been brought up again recently, and I should therefore be glad to know from you whether the conditions are now changed. I may remark that in my opinion it would not be very easy to ascertain what monetary advantages are secured by such a great banking house.

Should you now pronounce for the bestowal of the title of banker to the court, kindly draw up an official document giving the reasons for your opinion.

MANTEUFFEL.

(Postscript.)

I would add that it is not necessary to report officially on the matter, it will suffice if I know that you have no objection to the bestowal. Should the Rothschilds still follow a

predominately anti-Prussian tendency, I should certainly regard this as such an objection.

I may tell you, in the strictest confidence, that the matter is so far of interest to me as Rothschild will thus be to a certain extent diverted from his fervent efforts to improve the Vienna valuta, and will be favourably inclined towards a railway loan we are thinking of raising.

The best wishes of the season to you and yours.

Unalterably your
MANTEUFFEL.

20

FREIHERR V. PROKESCH-OSTEN TO BISMARCK.

VIENNA, *January* 18, '53.

MOST ESTEEMED FREIHERR,

While I bring the very best intentions into the position assigned to me by his Majesty the Emperor, I do not go to Frankfurt without hope, as I shall find you there among the collaborators in the common work.

I have already learned in Berlin to esteem the uprightness of your character and of your mode of thought, your gift of intuition and of comprehension, your eloquence and your kindly manners, and the experience gained at Frankfurt will place it in the power of your good will to render me greatly beholden to you. You have always appreciated my endeavours to further the union between Austria and Prussia. I will also in future continue to keep the same end in view, an end which quarantees the strength and the dignity of Germany, and most effectually secures the orderly development of the interests of the two countries. I shall meet you on this path, and we will pursue it together. It is in this belief that I am coming.

The date of my arrival is as yet uncertain, but I expect it will be in the last week of this month. I shall probably

take the shortest route; my wife will accompany me, and we shall be able to profit by your advice in domestic matters.

When I look back over my stay in Berlin, recall the gracious expressions of his Majesty your exalted King and master, and reflect on the pleasure which awaits me in going hand in hand with you, I am inclined to look forward to Frankfurt with tranquility and cheerfulness.

Accept the expression of my highest esteem, with which I have the honour to be,

Your most faithful,

v. Prokesch-Osten.

21

Quehl to Bismarck.

Berlin, *March* 11, '53.

Your Excellency,

I am directed by the Minister President to inform you that he quite agrees with your views and procedure in respect of Herr v. Prokesch. Herr v. Manteuffel will speak to his Majesty in this sense, and this will probably be a good opportunity—although his Majesty is much inclined towards joint steps with Austria against England—to draw the attention of Austria to the inept procedure of the diplomatic poet. A long note came yesterday from Austria, which wishes to join Prussia (against England). Although our hotspurs have for long been very impetuous in their demands for "energetic measures" against England—as if England could be annihilated with a forcible speech, like a clause in a bill in the Second Chamber,—Herr v. Manteuffel meets these onsets with great coolness and tranquillity. In his opinion a refusal will now have to be given to Austria, though in a most friendly manner, and some marginal notes for Prokesch can be interwoven.—His Excellency is particularly glad at your remarks respecting Bavaria, and em-

powers you to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Bavarian Envoy.—Although this will be immaterial to you, I cannot help expressing my great pleasure that your and the Minister President's views meet so regularly, and that Prussia has such a thoroughly Prussian representative at the only place at which she is displaying any activity. A representative who, fortunately, is not only able to perceive the right but possesses the energy to pursue it, an energy which can neither be acquired nor bought, but which, as we must acknowledge with humility, is a gift from God. It is certainly most regrettable that you cannot both be divided into a hundred parts, so as to supply all the diplomatic posts with Manteuffels and Bismarcks. Unfortunately, the prospect of this co-operation bearing gratifying fruit is somewhat troubled by complications and developments here. The doctrinaire-feudal-pietist party on the one hand, and the good Herr v. Hinckeldey, who it is true has the advantage of representing no principle but only his noble self, on the other hand, not only render Herr v. Manteuffel's position difficult, but I fear are shaking it more and more. And then come our chief's excellent colleagues, some of whom are as short-sighted as they are weak, and the others (in reality only Herr v. Bodelschwingh) are intriguers, and imagine themselves called to do great things.

How can a kingdom exist which is disunited within itself? But I will leave this subject to-day with a request that is suggested by my interest in the matter and finds its excuse in the same. Your Excellency's way of looking at things, your words and your advice mean much to the Minister-President, perhaps as much as any voice can ever mean to this rare character. It is impossible even to think of any influence being exerted on Herr v. Manteuffel against his own intentions, but encouragement to act according to these intentions would be possible and perhaps necessary. I consider that if Herr v. Manteuffel does not soon develop more

activity he will not be able to escape the fate of the Moor.* This would be no great harm to himself; on the contrary, if I followed personal *feelings* for him I could only wish that he might soon be released from his position to enjoy better times. But a pessimistic policy is and always remains a bad one, and as a system would fall with Herr v. Manteuffel which in given circumstances seems to be the only right one, I have no more ardent wish than that he should remain under more favourable conditions. My request to your Excellency is no other than that you will encourage him to be more active, to remove unserviceable friends or dangerous opponents, and to seek to carry out what he himself considers necessary. It is at all events more glorious and better to fall in the midst of the battle, than to be gradually removed by intrigues. Apart from your personal relations with the Minister President, however, I credit you with possessing the highest degree of that statesmanlike foresight which will make you wish, both in a general way and in your own interests, that Prussia's action towards the outside world may not be robbed of all basis by internal disorders. Excuse these hasty lines.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

QUEHL.

22

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *March* 15, '53.

You will have received yesterday a telegraphic despatch relating to the sale of two ships † belonging to the German navy. This was sent off at the urgent request of his Royal

* Refers to the passage in Schiller's "Fiesco," III, 4.

"Der Mohr hat seine Schuldigkeit gethan;
Der Mohr kann gehen."

The Moor can go, now that he has done all that he was required to do.

† The "Hansa" and the "Erzherzog Johann."

Highness Prince Adalbert. As I could not discuss the matter beforehand with either the War Minister or the Finance Minister I did not give any definite instructions; my personal opinion is, too, that it will be a good thing when the affair is finally settled, as there is little prospect of our acquiring the said vessels on our own account. Kindly communicate as soon as possible on the state of affairs.

I consider that what you write about Prussia's position towards Austria is perfectly right. That is our Court's traditional policy; it is being resumed as the old track is found again which could have been lost only in a furious snowstorm and by ignorant charioteers (Radowitz and von der Pfordten). I have long recognised this, and although his Majesty, stung by the temporary feeling of being wounded, does not quite agree with me, I hope to lead things into their proper direction.

I have, therefore, as you will have seen, designedly spared the middle German states in the Zollverein matter, and more than Austria wished, though, as I believe, without prejudicing Prussia. These states can go only with us, and they must be made to feel that our guidance will not be withheld from them whenever they seek it. Once things are in progress our material and still more our intellectual force of gravity will make itself felt in a manner more effective than all treaty stipulations. My procedure is bearing good fruit already; the states are beginning, so to say, to want to eat out of our hands. Notwithstanding everything, I receive a letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia to-day, with a request from the high Olympus that I will give an account of my deeds, which he stigmatises concessions to Austria. It is certainly discouraging to have such a verdict passed after all one's trouble, solicitude, and goodwill. I have his Majesty's consent to adopt an especially complaisant attitude towards Bavaria, and beg you to act in the same sense.

It is again Hanover, among the Zollverein states, which is raising difficulties for us; I look forward most eagerly to the time when a stop will be put to all these *tracasseries*.

My wife desires me to tender her best thanks for your kind and entertaining letter, which she received while she was seriously indisposed. The poor woman has been suffering for more than three weeks from what Barez describes as an inflammation of the periosteum of the face, but what is called in good German Ziegenpeter (mumps).

The ceremonious election of Prince Karl to be a Master of the Order of the Knights of St. John took place yesterday; although I had much more important things to do, I was obliged to figure at it.

The debates in our Chamber are slowly following their course. We shall not be finished till the middle of May.

I consider it only natural that you should have considerable trouble with Prokesch, and hope he will run himself firmly aground.

I get on very well with Count Thun; he is very sharp *in catholicis,* however. I have a despatch from him in which he endeavours to win us over to take joint measures against England, but not for the reasons contained in the instructions addressed to you. It will be no easy matter to sugar the pill of the refusal. I shall admit all the premises and only most unassumedly call all the conclusions into question. I shall first state that the post *chicanes* are no worthy, and also no effectual means, and then point out that Switzerland is closer to us than England, then that England quickly expressed her readiness to comply in the matter of a stricter supervision of the passports, (which is true), and finally add that I have reason to doubt whether France and even Russia will act with us. I should certainly advise against bringing the German Bund on to this dangerous *terrain*.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant, MANTEUFFEL.

23

King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to Bismarck.

Rüdersdorff, *September 12, '53.*

Dearest Bismarck,

My brother Wilhelm is labouring under a misunderstanding, which it will be to everybody's advantage to have removed. At Doberan I received a letter from him containing a wail of woe at Manteuffel's resignation, which is said *now* to be certain, and which he rightly described as a calamity. I demanded from Wilhelm the solution of this riddle, as everything was adjusted only three weeks ago, when my *persévérance* conquered. He replied about a week ago that you, my dear Bismarck, had received a *letter from Putbus,* from the contents of which you as well as he would come to no other conclusion. I enquired of him at Sans-Souci yesterday who was the writer of this letter, and he named *Gerlach.* I have questioned Gerlach *to-day,* and he assures me by all that is dear to him that he has written *no such letter* to you *from Putbus.* There you have the whole puzzle. Unravel it for *me* and for *Wilhelm* and—as soon as possible. *Vale*

F. W. R.

24

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *January 6, '54.*

I have long wanted to write to you, but have been unable to find time. Even to-day these few lines are only to assure you that I think of you with the old friendship.

Ex oriente lux, says Prokesch, but this light is at present considerably obscured, at least I see only darkness there, and the possibility of a volcano developing. My own opinion is that the Czar personally desires neither war not conquest; but I am no longer so firm in my conviction that England

does not want war. The English seem to be really in earnest in the matter since the affair at Sinope, though in general they probably prefer peace. France is just now perceptibly cooler than England, Baraguay d'Hilliers * is saying quite openly in Constantinople that it is not France's vocation to make war on the Persians for the benefit of England's Indian possessions, and Drouyn de L'Huys† is adopting a much more elegiac than dithyrambic tone in his utterances. The most wretched rôle in the affair is assuredly played by Austria which, like a mouse in a trap, peeps out first from one opening and then from another, and hurriedly withdraws its nose whenever anyone strikes at it. Count Buol contradicts to-day what he said yesterday, though one cannot reproach him much for doing so. Apart from the fact that the position of Austria, as an immediately interested power, with a reduced army, her credit ruined, and her peoples unorganised, is a desperate one, I have most reliable information from Vienna that the central management of affairs there is in a truly sad state. Count Buol has authority neither with the Emperor nor with his colleagues, his Majesty's Military Cabinet meddles from time to time in diplomatic affairs and disconcerts everything, and besides all this Meyendorff is as ill-natured and peevish as possible. It is difficult to know what Austria really wants. Apparently she wishes to keep out of the business until necessity drives her into it. Everything is being done to remain on good terms with the Czar, and at the same time Herr v. Hübner‡ is making the most extraordinary statements in Paris, so that even the police reports contain the assurance that, in order to avert the blow from her Italian frontier, Austria has proposed to cede our Rhenish province to France. I do not believe this, but in view of previous proceedings on the

* French Ambassador in Constantinople.
† French Minister for Foreign Affairs.
‡ Austrian Minister in Paris.

part of the house of Habsburg-Lothringen I do not regard the idea of such an arrangement as quite impossible.

We have practically maintained our original position. The object of Count Pourtalès' mission to London is to investigate the *terrain* there better than the unpractical Bunsen* is able to do in the Prussian interest, and to provoke confidential statements. He will soon return. He has found a decided split in the English Cabinet, for whereas Aberdeen is decidedly for Austria, Clarendon will have nothing to do with that country. Count Pourtalès has, moreover, emphasised the fact that if we wish to remain neutral not even a devil will be able to deter us from doing so.

It will be very important to know what impression will be made in St. Petersburg by the order to enter the *Black Sea*. Judging from previous information, I anticipate that it would be answered by a declaration of war, but remark that Budberg's language and Rochow's reports have become much more moderate in tone.

As regards our domestic affairs, the family scenes in the Chamber have not yet begun; to-morrow a start will be made with the Westphalian parish regulations. On Monday I bring in the treaty with Oldenburg† in connection with Jahdehaven. I shall make as short a story of it as possible in order not to excite passions, but it will not be viewed with favourable eyes in England.

Minister von Beust, the *commis voyageur,* was here during the last few days, allegedly to pay a visit of condolence to his uncle, old Werther, in reality however to spy out the land, and to cloak the Munich journey. The King, to whom Minister v. Beust expressly reported himself, invited him to dinner—but treated him as badly as possible. He tried to talk politics with me, too, but I entertained him with the

* Prussian Minister in London.

† By a treaty dated July 20, 1853, Prussia obtained by purchase two strips of land on the Jahde basin, for the construction of a naval port. (Wilhelmshaven.)

Elbe navigation and the constitution of the courts of justice. He is stated to have gone away very discontented with his visit; I should regret this extremely if there were anything left in him to spoil.

I wish you, your wife, and your children much happiness in the new year. My wife sends greetings. Write soon to me, and do not take it amiss if I do not reply punctually.

With the highest esteem and old friendship,

Your faithful servant

MANTEUFFEL.

25

COUNT EBERHARD ZU STOLBERG TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *February* 1, '54.

Polde* and my father† beg you to come here as soon as possible, you will have or will easily find a good reason for doing so. There is a hellish muddle here, and a decision must be arrived at during the next few days, as soon as replies are received from England and France. I don't vouch for your having a pleasant time here, but I believe your presence is almost as necessary as it was in '50, before the Austrian business.

With kindest remembrances to your wife,

Your faithfully devoted

E. STOLBERG.

26

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

BERLIN, *February* 24, '54.

Austria intends to send Russia an ultimatum, to the effect that if she does not evacuate the Danubian Principalities by

* General Leopold v. Gerlach.

† Count Anton zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Lord High Chamberlain and Minister of the Royal House.

a certain date, war will be declared. We shall be required to have an army corps in readiness.

This information is secret, but sure.

MANTEUFFEL.

27

BISMARCK TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

FRANKFURT, *February 27, '54.*

According to some telegraphic messages between Vienna and the French Ministry, which were read as they passed through Carlsruhe, a treaty was concluded between Austria and France on Friday. BISMARCK.

28

NOTES * IN BISMARCK'S HANDWRITING.

March, 1854.

We cannot give Austria the general assurance that we will proceed with her, and also help to incline the Bund to the same object, when we do not know what Austria's intentions are.

A defensive alliance mutually guaranteeing the frontiers, with further stipulations, would be possible, if Austria were inclined to remain neutral; if she intends to go to war, we must know against whom, for what object, and with what means, before we can make our decisions dependent on hers.

Our interests hitherto have been defensive, an extension of our defensive is dependent on our duties to the Bund; we do not decline to defend *German* interests, but we have as yet no means of judging whether what Austria intends to undertake with the united Prussian-German-Austrian forces comes within German interests.

Is Austria bent on conquest, does she intend to attack the Russian army? She cannot demand our co-operation

* For an interview with the Prince of Prussia?

for either of these objects; but if she only contemplates restoring order within her own frontiers, and for this purpose wishes to obtain promises from Russia, and the permission to suppress disturbances in Turkish territory within certain lines of demarcation, and also to occupy certain territory, we will help her with word and with pen. She can demand actual military assistance only when *Germany* is threatened with war which has not been provoked by wilful aggression on the part of Austria herself. Neither our duty nor our interest goes beyond this; if we are to go further, Austria must name a definite, joint aim, and state exactly what she purposes.

Quid et ubi, quibus auxilüs, cur quomodo quando.

Written on the back of an invitation to attend a conference on March 14, 1854, at 76, Wilhelm Strasse.

The Government is resolved that under all circumstances Prussia shall assert her indubitable right to co-operate in maintaining the balance of power in Europe, although we must admit that Prussia's geographical position and her over-sea relations have not yet entitled her to an equal right with the other states.

29

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *April 27, '54.*

I thank you very much for your letter of the 24th inst. Nothing fresh has occurred here, for I do not regard as a novelty the unpleasant and threatening attitude assumed by the Western powers through the Ministers towards our Envoys in London* and in Paris,† and through the En-

* Bunsen.

† Count Maximilian v. Hatzfeldt.

voys * here towards me. Count Esterhazy † is hinting here that we deliberately forced Austria into the arms of the Western powers, by withdrawing our support and creating difficulties for her. According to communications from Vienna, we shall soon be rid of this unpleasant mortal and shall see Count Thun here again.

In what was not altogether a satisfactory conversation, the Prince of Prussia mooted the idea that Darmstadt, if it really entertained the desire to be on a better footing with us, might perhaps take the opportunity of his appointment as Governor of Mayence to offer him for his residence a government building in Darmstadt, which he says is at present standing empty. The Prince requested me to have the idea suggested. I remarked, and in this the Prince quite agreed, that such an offer, if not made with other declarations, would by no means suffice, but that I did not deny that it would be an appropriate opening for further declarations on the part of Darmstadt. The Prince left it to me to write to Otterstedt ‡ on the subject. This did not, however, seem to me quite the right thing to do; I prefer to pass the idea on to you, leaving it to you to utilise in the way you judge best, though not to the exclusion of Otterstedt.

I shall be glad to be informed of what you do in the matter.

The Prince is at present at Weimar, but will be returning in a few days to Coblenz. He may refer to the subject as he passes through, in which case please mention my letter.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

* Lord Bloomfield and the Marquis Moustier.

† Austrian Envoy.

‡ Formerly Prussian Minister Resident at Darmstadt.

30

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *April* 30, '54.

I have to thank you for two letters. Some remarks you made in letters to General von Gerlach on pending questions had already come to my knowledge.

Above all, I would beg you to regard the affair as a *fait accompli*. It is useless to rack one's brains over accomplished facts, our task is to manage what we have in hand.

In my opinion we are not particularly implicated, and when it is said that there are certain hooks in the affair to which we can be fastened, I retort that two persons are interested in the fastening operation, the one who holds and the other who is held fast, and also that these hooks are reciprocal; if we had given none to the Austrians we should have received none in return, and it is just this mutual system of hold-fasts that we desire. We must carefully guard against it appearing from this that our object is only to restrain Austria from proceeding in her action against Russia. Two evils would result from this. In the first place, nothing that we said to Russia would then carry weight; for if we did not know it already, one needs only to read Meusebach's * reports to become convinced that mere words are nothing to the Russians, who themselves are in no way bound by them, and indeed follow the pathway of facts, brutally disregarding all promises and treaties, and at the most excusing with a shrug of the shoulders the lack of *bienveillance* on the grounds of *nécessité de guerre*. There is, however, some difficulty in admitting this excuse when it is a question of tearing off Prussian cockades, etc. One must eventually also speak to such people with facts.

* v. Meusebach was Prussian Consul at Bucharest.

The second, and more important, evil would be that we should draw all the weight of the western powers on ourselves alone. I need not explain what use Austria would make of that eventuality. With a little liveliness of imagination it may be supposed that the western powers might reason somewhat as follows: Prussia does not fulfil its vocation as a bulwark against the advance of the Slavic elements. Prussia is therefore a useless member of the family of European states, and it would be better to strengthen Austria's power alone; moreover, Prussia would furnish excellent material to be divided among Austria, Saxony, Bavaria, etc. I know perfectly well that speeches in this tenor are already being held in very influential places. It does not follow that matters are serious, and still less that the affair should be regarded as settled, for various other people still have something to say and something to do in it; we must, however, have every eye open, and not delude ourselves into believing that such a siren-song would find wax in every ear.

You will know that in the meantime Bunsen's removal has been worked. I cannot but admit that at the present moment this is a serious matter; with things as they are now, a brief resolution had to be arrived at and carried out. This has been done, though not without difficulty. The Prince of Prussia is much displeased at it, but I cannot alter that.

Baron von Werther will probably go to St. Petersburg, he arrived here to-day.

Adieu, my wife sends kindest regards to yours.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

31

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *May 27*, '54.

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of yesterday. There is no objection whatever to the alliance affair following its slow course; we only gain by a *lapsus temporis,* and I should be very grateful to German thoroughness and the dignity of the middle states, if they succeeded in keeping things in suspense until the ice in the Baltic and the snow on the Balkans began their campaign. I fear only that events will not be held back by these Germanisms, but will pass over them to the order of the day.

Count Alvensleben sends me good reports from Vienna. The Emperor, while entertaining a certain mistrust against Russia, has expressed himself with moderation, and not in the spirit of the western powers. Count Buol also has followed the Emperor's directions, has dropped his former irritable manner, and with his master lays more emphasis on the independence of the alliance. From other symptoms also I gather that Austria uses no mere figure of speech when she says she is avoiding war with Russia. I know from a sure source that Herr Hübner threatened in Paris to publish documents proving that Austria would have struck out long ago if Prussia had not acted as a brake. I have no idea what documents these are, but it is evident that Austria is desirous of shifting the pressure of the western powers on to us; the nimbus of the German readiness to make sacrifices is also beginning to fade, and it looks as if another Shibboleth were being sought for. The raising of the 95,000 men is certainly a symptom which gives cause for reflection, though the ground from which they have sprung is, in my opinion, that of financial frivolity. The Austrian measures seem to be regarded in Russia as being very serious. The newspaper accounts of the with-

drawal of the Russians and of their being posted on the Sereth, and also of their war material having been transported back again over the Pruth, are confirmed by the Consular reports. On the other hand, more troops are continually being concentrated in southern Poland, on the Galician and Transylvanian frontiers. Judging from the course followed hitherto by this unfortunate affair, I regard it as by no means impossible that Russia and Austria are coming to blows merely as a result of mutual mistrust and misunderstanding. If we too should then be engaged on the Rhine, a very unpleasant tit for tat would be performed, and a far less difficult seat of war would be offered to the French, as well as a good opportunity for them to reconstruct the map of Europe. We must, without throwing ourselves into Austria's arms, avoid letting her feel that she is isolated; in this lies our only hope of influencing her action. Austria is much exasperated at the Darmstadt conference; there is no harm in this, but we must be careful that no portion of the odium falls on us. *Cool blood and not too much action,* seems to be our program for the present. Once it is believed in Vienna that we are identified with the Darmstadt conference, we shall lose our influence, which from the beginning has been beneficial. I cannot understand the shortsightedness of many who are eternally urging resoluteness. This resoluteness would mean nothing else than the surrender of the Prussian standpoint, and self-sacrifice for one of the two parties. Let us quietly wait: *le jour viendra.*

Herr v. Meyendorff has expressed his complete acquiescence with the last report of the proceedings of the conference; I consider, too, that the recognition of the *relative* standpoint at the commencement is not purchased too dearly with the final clause.

It is reported privately that Meyendorff is to be replaced by Brunnow; he is a man of documents, however, not of war.

The prolonged stay of the French fleet off Kiel excites some surprise; it is stated in certain quarters that the intention is to threaten us. Moustier's language lately is certainly tinged with dejection, but it is fairly friendly.

I enclose for your information a letter from Nostitz on Hanoverian relations.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

(Enclosure.)

COUNT NOSTITZ TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

HANOVER, *May 26*, '54.

I am deeply obliged to your Excellency for the extremely friendly and complete manner in which you were kind enough to comply with the request made in my last letter. I am attached body and soul to the weal and the honour of Prussia, to maintain which I have often gladly hazarded my life; your Excellency can imagine, therefore, the great interest I take at the present crisis in all the transactions of our Cabinet. Viewed from this standpoint the following will be sure of a friendly reception.

Prussia's only policy can now be to exert every influence to restrain Austria from taking any step until the end of the autumn, when the warlike operations both on sea and on land must be brought to a conclusion, which might result in active interference on one or the other theatres of war. In case of a collision we must act as the constant mediator between Austria and Russia.

If this is done in the right way we can cherish the hope that a peaceable solution of the European crisis will be arrived at in the course of the winter.

The alliance concluded between Austria and Prussia is a right basis for such a policy of peace.

If, as we are justified in hoping, this alliance gives Prussia a real influence on the decisions of the Vienna Cabinet, thus enabling her effectively to exert efforts towards keeping the war within its present limits, everything must be carefully avoided that would either directly or indirectly shake the treaty . . . We must exert an influence on the attitude of Austria, and on the decisions of the warring powers, not by loosening the alliance contracted with Austria, but by means of the moral and physical force with which the alliance provides us. This is my opinion, and I have endeavoured to influence the Cabinet here in that direction.

Herr von Lütcken * has assured me to-day most positively that he considers that the welfare of the other states in the Bund depends on the internal agreement of the two great powers, and will sanction no measure that might shake the alliance between Austria and Prussia. Herr von Lenthe † has also received instructions in this sense for Bamberg.

Will your Excellency kindly treat this letter as confidential.

COUNT V. NOSTITZ.

32

BISMARCK TO OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL.

Confidential. (Draft.)

FRANKFURT, *July* 3, '54.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

All the German Governments, with the exception of Wurtemberg, have signified their agreement with the Alliance of April 20. According to Herr v. Reinhardt, Wurtemberg declines, at least *pro tempore;* he hopes that when the voting takes place in the Bundestag the King will accede, in order

* Hanoverian Prime Minister.

† Hanoverian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

not to remain in the minority with Denmark. . . . A. Malet * communicated to me a sharply worded English note addressed to Munich, in which the Cabinet there is informed that it is interfering in matters which do not concern it, and that further resistance against the policy of the great powers is absolutely harmless.† A similar note has been sent to Dresden. . .

v. Bismarck.

33

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *July 7, '54.*

Will you kindly have the enclosed note given to my brother, who, I believe, is in Frankfurt. It contains nothing of importance, merely my congratulations on his birthday, which falls on the ninth instant. Should you not be able to find him, please return me the letter. I am going into the country to-day, but return the day after to-morrow.

I have tolerably good news from Vienna; Count Alvensleben telegraphs that the Russian note has made a good impression there too, though Count Buol has not yet mentioned it to Baraguay. I have avoided communicating the details to the foreign diplomats here, saying that this would be done as soon as we have exchanged views with Vienna on the matter.

Count Henckel telegraphs that the irritation in London is extreme, and that coercive measures were contemplated against Prussia. *Voyons!* We must preserve an appearance of unity with Austria as long as possible. But I will not write a political letter.

Adieu. With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

Manteuffel.

* English Envoy to the Bundestag.

† This word is given in English in the original.

34

Cabinet-Councillor Niebuhr to Bismarck.

Potsdam, *July* 10, '54.

My Most Honoured Friend,

You will know that the Russian note has been well received in Vienna, and that the offer has even been made to bring influence to bear in Paris and London in favour of peace. The advance into Wallachia has been countermanded.

I will write fully and frankly through Councillor of Legation Wentzel.

Remember me kindly to your wife.

Most faithfully yours,

N.

35

Bismarck to Otto v. Manteuffel.

July 25, '54.

. . . . The system of a Germanising centralisation at present in vogue in Austria requires for the solution of its task a closer organic union with, and a firmer hegemony in Germany. The strivings of the Ultramontanes go hand in hand with those of the Viennese at present. Prussia's position of power in Germany is the hardest and heaviest stumbling block for both. Apart from all other motives for our line of action in the oriental question, we cannot permit an expansion of Austria unless we grow at least at the same rate.

If Austria comes to war with Russia, she will not be able permanently to resist co-operation in any plans of the western powers for the restoration of Poland. Such plans have never been honourably disclaimed in London and Paris,

and will probably sooner or later come more into the foreground, as being the only means towards a lasting diminution of the Russian power. Austria's interest against the re-establishment of Poland is less deep than that of Prussia and Russia, and is hardly so deep as to constitute a ground for quarrelling with the western powers *after* the rupture with Russia. I believe even that Austria would gladly choose the Danubian countries if she had the option of these or Galicia. The former are more accessible than the Polish province to the German language and government, and the population is inoffensive; they are capable of richer development, and go better with Austria geographically and commercially than Galicia, which is stuck on to the Empire on the other side of the Carpathians. Galicia, with its open frontier, is easily accessible to the Russian forces, and to any Polish insurrection. The dangers which the neighbourhood of the Poles would offer to the tranquillity of Hungary are counterbalanced by the increase of the elements hostile to the Magyars, viz. the Servians and the Wallachians. Besides this, the re-establishment of Poland in itself would secure the following advantages to the Austrian system:

1. Prussia will be weakened, and held in check.

2. The danger of Panslavism disappears when *two* powerful Slav states exist with a different religion and nationality.

3. Europe has one more state with a pure Catholic confession.

4. Poland, re-established with Austria's aid, will begin by being Austria's firm ally.

5. The re-establishment of Poland offers Austria perhaps the only permanent guarantee against effective retaliation on the part of Russia as soon as the Italian affair leads to a quarrel between Austria and France, or the former is otherwise in an awkward position. At the worst, the Vienna Cabinet would help with proposals for a fresh partition of

Poland, but without giving up the Danubian countries. I will not go so far as to assert that Austria will voluntarily urge the restoration of Poland; but if the western powers seriously take the matter in hand, she will defend herself only with blunt nails, provided she has a prospect of being rewarded with the Danubian countries.

v. Bismarck.

36

Otto v. Manteuffel to Bismarck.

Berlin, *September 7, '54.*

You will find enclosed a copy of a telegraphic despatch which I have just received from Herr Wentzel. As matters now stand, I see no necessity for prolonging the session. This being the case, you might extend your stay in the country by a few days. The journey to Dresden seems to me now to be less urgent, but I should like you to return by Hanover in order to talk over matters with Herr v. der Lütcken, who appears to be quite Austrian. I should not advise making your return too late.

My kindest regards to your wife, and to your father-in-law, who will perhaps still remember me.

Manteuffel.

37

Count R. von der Goltz to Bismarck.

Berlin, *October 31, '54.*

Esteemed friend,

I leave Berlin to-day for my new destination,* and cannot do this without sending you a few very hasty words of farewell. In the first place I must thank you heartily for your share in my re-instatement. I must regard the ap-

* Athens, as Prussian Minister Resident.

pointment as being, in the present circumstances, a most desirable one, although in itself it is so disagreeable. To leave Berlin behind as quickly as possible, to get as far away as possible, to have as little occasion as possible to act for Prussia must, unfortunately, be the wish to-day of everyone who does not desire to see Prussia ruined or sink slowly deeper into the mire, and least of all to be led into the temptation to assist in bringing about this result. It is difficult to express my feelings at leaving. . . One must despair, when one sees that not only is the conduct of affairs to be regretted—that might be a temporary misfortune—but the poison of un-Prussian feeling is ever spreading, and has already entered into the soul of what were once the noblest elements of the country, that the core of the Prussian nobility is beginning to take delight in filth and to cast eager, sympathetic glances to where the meaning of the word "gentleman" is quite unknown. Mistakes and ignorance can be forgiven; but to forget all Prussian traditions, to deride all justified Prussian ambition, the servile adoration of a foreign monarch, the cowardly love of peace of Louis Philippe Epicier, are too much in a Prussian Junker. The way cannot but be prepared to the democratic dominion when the elector shows a cleaner sheet than the would-be aristocracy, when—thanks to the preaching of half-mad parvenus—the latter gradually lose all sense of military honour, patriotism, and loyalty.

Why do I write all this to you? Because I think of hardly anything else, and because I believe that you are favourable ground for the reception of such considerations as these. You have gained valuable experience during the past four years, and especially just lately, and your practical sense must show you the impossibility of certain sophistical-doctrinaire theories. The results of these, too, are clear enough before us. What have we come to?

You, more than anyone else, are in a position to assist in

annihilating this suicidal system. Your forces would be more to be regretted than any others, if they were cast in with those who for five years have been working systematically to change the great power of Prussia back again to the Electoral State of Brandenburg, and who may almost hope to have attained their aim. All that I ask is that you will avoid even the appearance of throwing in your lot with these people, and will turn against them as soon as the opportunity arises. I do not think I can make a better return for your friendship towards me than by candidly urging this on you.

My letter is very disconnected, but I am in the greatest haste. May we meet on the same ground in better times!

Always yours,

GOLTZ.

38

O. v. ARNIM TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *December* 6, '54.

DEAR OTTO,

In view of the very important resolutions which we must soon take, I am writing to ask if you cannot make it possible, under some pretext or other, perhaps as a member of the First Chamber, to come here for a time. I believe that we need the cool and sober calculation of a clear intelligence, which leaves all sympathies and antipathies out of the question, to bring us safely out of our present situation, which is more complicated than ever. Here you will certainly be able to do much good and to prevent much harm being done, in Frankfurt you will at most accomplish the latter; come, therefore, if you possibly can, and soon, before it is too late.

In the Second Chamber where the Right, thanks to the Ministry for removing a large number of the members for the formation of the First Chamber, is in a brilliant minor-

ity, Vincke has introduced a motion to reply to the speech from the throne with an address. It is easy to foresee what form this will take.

Greet Nanne heartily from

Your sincere brother-in-law,

ARNIM.

39

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *January* 5, '55.
IN THE SECOND CHAMBER.

I thank you for your last two letters, the contents of which were kept in view when I was drawing up the note for Vienna. His Majesty would absolutely not admit one *nuance* of your view, viz. that we should tacitly withdraw. The King considers this quite impossible, and gave me clearly to understand that he believes this view was suggested to you from here, and by General v. Gerlach, with whom his Majesty recently had an animated discussion on this affair.

I beg you to observe the strictest silence and the utmost discretion concerning the proceedings in Vienna. There are two reasons for this; in the first place the communication itself is based on very confidential information, but secondly that worse abuse would be made of the truth here in order to drive Austria and the Emperor more quickly into the other camp.

The hopes for peace are on the whole very scanty. The western powers make no secret of the fact that they wish for it, but not until Sebastopol has been taken. As this result is far distant, and as I hear even that the Russians will assume the offensive on January 12th, I see no prospect of peace. In my opinion Prince Gortchakoff did not act very wisely at the conference itself, although he has done well enough since then.

The King suggested that I should send for you, in order, as his Majesty expressed it, to drink "at the source." I question whether it would be best to do this now, as you are perhaps most needed where you are; consider the matter, however, and let me know your opinion by telegraph.

We have just been thoroughly beaten on the election of the President, and the question of the dissolution of the Chamber is becoming a serious one. Perhaps we might merely close the House.

But I must close. Wishing you and yours every happiness in the new year, I remain,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

40

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *February* 5, '55.

I thank you most sincerely for your communication of yesterday.

Everything that is possible shall be done from here towards accomplishing your plans. One circumstance, however, as you know, is both our weakness and our strength, viz., that we can quickly raise large bodies of troops but are not in a position to keep them standing.

There is, nevertheless, absolutely no doubt that in case of a French invasion of South Germany we should not only raise troops, but also march them, and I do not anticipate that any difficulties would thereby be raised here. A difficulty could arise only in case the French troops are collected in France, and then the South German Governments are exhorted or threatened in increasingly stronger language, without the frontier being touched or a single man set in movement. It would be almost impossible for us to dispose our troops during this time, which could be extended at will.

I am, moreover, firmly convinced, and it will be important to let the South German Governments know it, that no 60,000 Frenchmen must march to the Danubian Principalities, still less establish themselves in South Germany, before our opinion in the matter has been heard, provided always the South German States do not undertake to guarantee their own safety and join their armies with the French. These gentlemen should at least affect some courage.

I cannot warn you sufficiently against placing too much trust in those gentlemen and their Envoys. Half an hour after I had received your letter of the day before yesterday I heard that the exact words were known in the French Embassy which you had used in that letter, and probably also in the conversations * referred to in it. I was told also that you had proposed to allow Herr Prokesch a glance into the arsenal which the Bund constitution has at its disposal against Austria's procedure, and had given the assurance that a few army corps would be mobilised in the western provinces of Prussia. Herr Moustier assured me that this had been communicated to him direct by one of the gentlemen whom you regard as your best friend. You will be best able to judge whether this is possible.

The chief danger, notwithstanding all our recent successes, still is that in a real crisis we cannot depend on our Confederates in the Bund, but must expect them to desert us. This circumstance must not determine our line of action, but it has to be taken into consideration.

The western powers are again pressing more actively. The French give notice that they will blockade the Baltic ports if we continue to allow the export of arms to Russia.

Adieu. With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

* With the Envoys of Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Mecklenburg at the Bundestag.

41

COUNT ALEXANDER KEYSERLING TO BISMARCK.

RAIKÜLL, *February* 13-25, '55.

DEAR COMPANION OF MY YOUTH,

Your letter of Decr. 29th was handed to me at Mitau, where I was enjoying a few days with some old acquaintances. You contributed in such a degree to carry me back to the time of our youthful dreams, that Mr. Layard did not feel greater joy on discovering the first cuneiform characters of old Nineveh than I did at the sight of your handwriting. This has become firmer, but is otherwise unchanged, and reveals more character than a diplomat can conveniently use, at least such is the experience I have gathered at the various courts which I have been able to observe with eye of a paleontologist. Do you not remember that you once predicted to me, probably in a lucid moment, that a constitution was inevitable, that by this we should attain to external honours but that we must be pious at heart? I thought to find your starred Excellency a wise pilgrim, a poor brother, or sunk in the joys of the eternal spirit. Fate has ordained that I have been weaker than you in fulfilling our youthful dreams. After I had made a geognostic survey of Russia in close alliance with the President of the Geological Society of France and England—which, by the way, has been better preserved than the corresponding political alliances—and had followed the solitary paths of science in arrogant self-satisfaction, seeking to make fresh conquests for the human understanding, I bound myself to make a woman happy, to manage an estate with profit while fulfilling the customary governmental obligations attaching to it, to bring up children, and to improve clowns and boobies. On the one hand were thousands of extinct, but extremely interesting animals, on the other hand my fellow

beings, many of them unquestionably great bores. Only the dire necessity of earning something would have driven me to set my hands, spoiled in the Capua of the world of thought, to the hard reality. After a severe struggle I have succeeded in breaking in my proud intelligence, and in rightly esteeming the tasks of the heart. My wife now thinks very highly of me, my peasants are more contented under my government than ever before, as a true naturalist I have secured one child of each sort, a female and a male, with whom I like to occupy myself and who love me for it. I breed excellent horses, fine sheep, noble pigs, and moderate cattle; I increase the yield from fields and meadows by draining and irrigation, have done away with the Frohne,* and have assumed the office of President of the Esthonian Association of estate-owners. An Esthonian estate-owner is a universal person, and above all a lawyer. I therefore administer justice to the ten thousand people of my parish, and the pastor records my sentences. I am listened to in the Landtags, and I sit in the council of the men of Reval. I also have learned on a small scale that politics is a field in which the least is produced with the greatest expenditure of character and intelligence. If you want to see a country where we live without bureaucracy, and much better than with learned lawyers and writers, come here. I shot over a wolf about six weeks ago, as I am still an imperfect hunter.

Write to me when your time permits. May God have you in His keeping, and if ever He should bring us together it will be a glad day for your old friend. A new friend is like new wine, both are best when they are old!

ALEXANDER KEYSERLING.

* Compulsory service rendered to the lord of the manor.

42

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *May* 10, '55.

You will to-day receive a circular-despatch which I trust will meet with your satisfaction. Permit me, however, privately to request you to be extremely cautious in what you say in this matter.

You know your ground, you know that Frankfurt-on-the-Main is the worst gossiping shop in the world, and that the little German diplomacy is the most miserable that exists. But you can hardly imagine how wonderful and how warped the echo that reaches us from Frankfurt is, how the bad spirits here hawk your utterances about, twist them into all manner of shapes, and deduce simply incredible consequences from them.

Fellows like Meysenburg and his confederates delight in purchasing favour with the French Minister with reports and comments on your utterances, and much as I despise this, I think that as little opportunity as possible should be given to such scoundrels to commit these infamies.

Adieu. More soon.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

Your faithful servant,

MANTEUFFEL.

43

OTTO V. MANTEUFFEL TO BISMARCK.

(Telegram.)

BERLIN, *November* 26, '55. 9:9 P. M.

The King's Majesty would be very glad to see you here for the opening of the Landtag, but leaves you to judge whether important reasons stand in the way of your coming.

V. MANTEUFFEL.

44

Freiherr v. Rosenberg to Bismarck.

Paris, *May* 9, '57.

My most esteemed patron,

You will have been particularly pleased at hearing that the visit of Prince Napoleon * was so soon realised, though I have an idea that you are not quite innocent in the matter. The affair was treated with such secrecy here that the diplomatic corps and especially Kisseleff † heard of it first through the Berlin newspapers, and have not even yet grasped the true reason of this political demonstration. They all impute one motive or another, but are completely in the dark. The Austrians console themselves with the fact that Plombplomb ‡ was chosen as mediator for a new (conservative) alliance relation, and the English regard Prince Napoleon's visit when the Russian Grand-duke § was present as a demonstration against Russia in their favour; in reality, however, both Austria and England will see in it a hint that France has other strings to her bow, and they are probably more vexed at this advance towards Prussia than our Berlin old-conservatives are.

Shortly before he started, Prince Napoleon asked for special *renseignemente* with respect to the Berlin *terrain,* and in that I was able to be of use to him. In my opinion he will be more inclined to appear as *homme de sciences* and as an admirer of our military institutions than to enter into any political question whatever. I advised him to make use of his diary of his last journey to Lapland and Iceland to excite the King's interest. Furthermore, he should not speak much, but always, if possible, in German. I do not

* To Berlin.
† Russian Minister in Paris.
‡ The nickname for Prince Napoleon.
§ Constantine.

know what impression he will make, particularly on the ladies of the court. Hatzfeldt has been invited to Fontainebleau, an exceptional circumstance which may probably be taken as a material rather than a personal attention. It seems clear to me that the Emperor is beginning to reckon less on England in forming his new plans. Hitherto Lord Palmerston has only entangled him in all sorts of English quarrels, and will continue to do so until the idea of a joint responsibility on the part of the western powers is replaced by other political necessities which are already arising. We need only think of the Danubian Principalities and the Scandinavian question. For our part we must be careful to show no very great *empressement (à la* Orloff*), and to smooth the ways leading from Paris to us and past us on to St. Petersburg; the European situation will do the rest.

Rothan † has heard with great pleasure that you spoke favourably of him to Count Walevski. He has also furthered our interest in respect of the visit of Prince Napoleon, and it would be an extreme satisfaction to him if you should succeed in procuring for him the Order which has long been destined for him. A request addressed to Manteuffel direct would have more chance of success than if it went through the ministerial offices. The journey of Prince Napoleon might be made the outward occasion for it.

If you should give me the pleasure of writing to me, kindly address me by my name only, omitting my official title, to 115, rue de Lille. . . .

Adieu.

Yours most sincerely,

ROSENBERG.

The Grand-Duke Constantine has been extremely well received here, although the reception is not quite devoid of a certain amount of consideration for England. The

* The representative of Russia at the Paris Congress.

† Secretary of Legation at the French Embassy in Berlin.

Russians, who are somewhat inclined to be arrogant, are reminded from time to time that great attention must be paid to England. (??)

45

Count Karl von der Goltz to Bismarck.

Berlin, *December* 15, '57.

My esteemed friend,

It is stated that in Prussia alone two hundred manors are going to the devil, and if this is true for the half of them it is sad enough. The Hamburgers are not inclined to help, and now the votes of thanks go over our heads to Vienna. I do not consider this very politic. The Lübeckers are here too, and want only 600,000 Thalers, which they will not get, although there are 30 millions in specie in the cellars of the bank and seven to eight millions in the State treasury. The Prince * is better again, but everything remains as before at Charlottenburg; the condition changes from hour to hour, and hence the contradictory rumours. Nobody can judge how matters will stand in January. Probably the worst will happen, i. e. the prolongation of the deputyship for a further period of three months, i. e. the prolongation and confirmation of the ministerial omnipotence. In the meantime, the journey of the Prince-father to the wedding † is being pressed forward. I consider it folly to cross the water at such a critical time, and do not think it looks well. It would not, however, be the first time that I had succumbed to female influence, so I anticipate defeat in this question, although the Prince has arrived at no decision. We have a great ministerial dinner to-day.

Remember me to your wife, and be assured of the sincere friendship of

Your faithful

K. v. d. Goltz.

* Of Prussia.

† Of his son Friedrich Wilhelm to the Princess Victoria.

46

Count Karl von der Goltz to Bismarck.

Baden, *July* 28, '58.

The Prince replies as follows to your proposals repeated with your usual persistence:

1. The Prince wishes to see the King; he will therefore stay an hour at Wiesbaden, and continue his journey to Rüdesheim by special train.

2. The Princess Karl has been requested *from here* to be at Eltville an hour later to join the Prince on the journey to Rüdesheim.

3. Will you kindly let the King know that the *Prince* will be wearing a *travelling suit,* and arrange to have a room kept ready at Wiesbaden, *in* or *near* the station, in which the two exalted gentlemen can talk without being disturbed.

Will you please inform the railway people that the Prince will require an extra train, and that it must stop at Eltville.

In conclusion I beg to state, in order to facilitate the course of business in similar cases, that my humble person, and not Alvensleben, is the Prince's personal adjutant, and that all matters such as the foregoing and all matters connected with the journey are under my charge.

Faithfully yours,

C. v. d. Goltz.

47

Minister v. Schleinitz to Bismarck.

Berlin, *November* 7, '58.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to appoint me Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, in the place of his Excellency, Freiherr von Manteuffel.

At the same time that I have the honour to inform you of this I would express the hope that I may be enabled through your kind co-operation to justify, by the administration of the post entrusted to me, the confidence that has been placed in me. Will you kindly address all despatches etc. in future to me.

Receive the assurance of my highest esteem.

SCHLEINITZ.

48

BISMARCK TO MINISTER v. SCHLEINITZ.

(Draft) *November* 9, '58.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have to-day had the honour of receiving your Excellency's notification respecting the taking over of the business of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. With my thanks for the kind communication I unite my respectful congratulations, and the assurance that I will at all times endeavour to justify and to retain the confidence expressed in your letter. I venture to hope that in view of the favour your Excellency has shown towards me hitherto, and of the consciousness of my active zeal in the Royal service, you will exercise indulgence when judging my official work.

With etc.

v. BISMARCK.

49

J. L. MOTLEY TO BISMARCK.*

ROME, *February* 16, '59

MY DEAR BISMARCK,

Are you really going to St. Petersburg? I have seen rumours to that effect from time to time, in the newspapers, but I always took it for granted that they were only rumours. But now, it seems to be stated so formally that it must be a settled thing. I wish you could find

* This letter is reproduced in the original English.

time,—(I know you have very little to spare) to write me a single line, just to say if the fact is really so. I can't tell you how much disappointed I am. I really don't know whether it is a political advancement for you or not—but it seems to me that you and Mme. de Bismarck are so happy and contented in Frankfort, and that you have so much less of the "pomp and circumstance" of courts—which I know is a bore to both of you—to make me doubt whether you will be at first much gratified by plunging into the arctic circle whither you seem to be bound.

But I confess that my emotions on the subject are very selfish. I always thought that I had you safe in Frankfort —and that I was sure to see you very often—as long as I remained in Europe, which—off and on—is likely to be for the greater part of my life—but now that you are going to Petersburg, it seems to me as though you were about migrating to the planet Jupiter.

Russia is so much farther off, in every respect, than America. Does your wife like the idea of removing from Frankfort? Pray give her my kindest regards and good wishes, and say to her how deeply disappointed I am to lose the opportunity of seeing you all again—I wished so much to introduce my wife and children to you and yours, and we even have talked of spending a year or two in Frankfort, as I don't think that Rome agrees much with any of us.

Do write me a word or two, if you can spare a few moments' time, and tell me what your plans are, why you are going to Russia and when, how your wife likes it, and all the other ifs and ands—I haven't written to you before, because I knew that you didn't care much for correspondence, and would be glad perhaps not to be obliged to write. —Now you must write, for I don't like to think that I have lost my hold upon you for ever.

I have seen Canitz here this winter. He seems desirous of getting appointed to this place, but I infer from what he

says that he is likely to remain at Naples. There is a young English lady here to whom it is said that he is engaged to be married—but it is not officially announced. She is a Miss W——, very young, pretty, and with a handsome fortune. The family occupy apartments in the same palazzo with us, and we have exchanged calls and cards—but we have not yet seen very much of them. I am sure I wish Canitz every happiness, for he is certainly one of the best hearted, most excellent fellows in the world. We had the pleasure of seeing him very often during his brief visit here —rather the oftener, you will infer, from the propinquity of lodgings, to which I have alluded—and my wife likes him as much as I do.

Pray tell me if you have heard of Keyserling *—and if you know his address. He owes me a letter since May, having let our correspondence drop in the most flagitious manner. I don't know his address now, or I would write to him again—but I am quite ignorant whether he has returned to Courland or has remained in Paris. Who is to be your Prussian minister here? You were kind enough to give me a letter of introduction to Mr. von Thiele, but he had already left his post before we arrived, and, as I understand, is not to return. If the new minister—whoever he may be—happens to be an acquaintance of yours, perhaps you would not object to send me a line of introduction to him.

Thus far, I have not been able to get into the papal Archives, and doubt very much whether I shall succeed. Our minister here is very obliging, and is doing all that he can, but I suspect that there is no key which will unlock those secrets to a protestant. Meantime I am working hard at the materials which I brought with me from other Archives—particularly those of Belgium, Holland, Spain and England, and have got enough work on my hands

* Count Hermann Keyserling.

to last me for years. Nevertheless I shall have finished two or three volumes, I suspect, before you will have read the first work.* Pray tell Madame de B. that I hope one of these days she will read the work for "old acquaintance sake." If she objects to reading English, there is a German translation—published in Dresden—and two French translations, one published in Brussels, the other in Paris. Pray forgive this egotism—for it is the egotism of friendship, not of vanity. I can't help wishing that you would both sometimes recall me to your memory, and I know no better way than by asking her to sometimes read a chapter or two of my writings. I am sure I shall never forget her and you —our early friendship, and the to me delightful days we have passed together since it has been renewed. I always feel when I am with you, as if twenty years had rolled off my back in one lump, like a knapsack, as if my shoes were not covered with the dust of the long life's turnpike along which we have been trailing since the early days.

God bless you and yours, my dear Bismarck. May you prosper and succeed—as you deserve to succeed—domi militiæque. Write me half a dozen lines, as soon as you conveniently can, and with best regards to your wife and children, believe me,

Most sincerely your friend

Address J. L. MOTLEY.

aux soins de Tarlonia & C^ie^.

Rome.

50

UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE v. GRUNER TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *February* 28, '59.

As a safe opportunity offers I am sending you a few hasty lines. . . .

* "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." Motley was then writing his "History of the United Netherlands."

Rechenberg was never seriously thought of for the secretaryship at the Legation, it was he who wished to go to St. Petersburg. I communicated to Herr von Schleinitz your request that no decision might be taken until your arrival, and believe he acquiesces.

The St. Petersburg post is extremely important, and its importance increases every day. I by no means fail to appreciate the value of the Frankfurt post, but the general political importance of the St. Petersburg post is incomparably greater. We are expecting *very much* from your work there; they have confidence in you, and you will be able to render the most important services there to the Crown and to the country. St. Petersburg is anything but the "honourable exile" you described it when you were here, and I am confident you will soon alter your opinion.

I hope the contents of the note despatched to-day are to your satisfaction.

You are, I trust, better again in health. It would be of the utmost advantage if you would be kind enough to remain with Herr v. Usedom for a few days, the place and the post can hardly ever have been less difficult than they are now.

I once more beg your indulgence for the hastiness of these lines.

With expressions of the highest esteem and devotion,

V. GRUNER.

51

BISMARCK TO FREIHERR VON SCHLEINITZ, MINISTER OF STATE.

ST. PETERSBURG, *May* 12, '59.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I am extremely obliged for the long and interesting despatch I received the day before yesterday through Feldjäger Hahn. In the course of yesterday I found an

opportunity to speak expansively to Prince Gortchakoff in the tenor of the communications I have received. My enclosed report* contains full details of the conversation, but I beg in this letter to bring forward another side of the question which I dare not touch officially with the same frankness, as I do not yet know whether it will not appear to your Excellency to be rank heresy.

My eight years' experience at Frankfurt has convinced me that the Bund institutions are shackles on Prussia, galling in times of peace, and absolutely dangerous to her existence at critical periods, and that Prussia does not obtain equivalents for this such as Austria, which enjoys an incomparably greater freedom of movement, draws from the institutions. The two great powers are not measured with the same standard by the smaller states and governments, and the aims and the laws of the Bund are made subservient to the needs of Austrian politics. Your Excellency is so well acquainted with the facts of the case, that I can refrain from going into the history of the policy of the Bund since 1850 to prove my standpoint; I will only mention the German fleet question, the quarrels on the customs duty question, the legislation affecting trade, the press, the constitution, the Bund fortresses of Rastatt and Mayence, the Neuchatel and the Oriental questions. We have always had to face the same compact majority, the same demand for compliance on the part of Prussia. Austria's force of gravity was so superior to ours in the Oriental question, that even the conformity of the wishes and inclinations of the Bund governments with Prussia's strivings was powerless against her. Our confederates in the Bund, almost without exception, gave us to understand, or even stated openly, that if Austria pursued her own path they would be unable to keep the Bund for us,

* A footnote in the German edition says that "Bismarck's reports from St. Petersburg have, unfortunately, not yet been published."

although there was no doubt that the right, and that the real interests of Germany were on the side of our peaceable policy; such at least was then the view of almost all the Bund princes. Would the latter ever sacrifice in this manner their own inclinations and interests to the needs or even the safety of *Prussia?* Certainly not, for their adherence to Austria is dictated essentially by interests which prescribe to both as the permanent basis of their joint policy that they hold together *against* Prussia and curb any development of Prussia's influence and power. The natural aim of the policy of the German Princes and their Ministers is the evolution, with Austria at the head, of the conditions prevailing in the Bund; this aim can be prosecuted only at the expense of Prussia, and is of necessity directed against Prussia only as long as Prussia does not restrict herself to the useful task of securing her confederates in the Bund against Austria obtaining too great an ascendancy, and to tolerating the disproportion between her duties and her rights in the Bund with an unwearying deference to the wishes of the majority. This tendency in the policy of the middle states will recur with the constancy of the magnetic needle after every temporary diversion, as it is not the arbitrary product of individual circumstances or persons, but is, as far as the little states are concerned, a natural and necessary result of the Bund relationships. The Bund treaties do not provide us with any means for dealing with it permanently and satisfactorily.

Perhaps I go too far when I suggest that we should eagerly seize every lawful opportunity offered us by our confederates to assume the rôle of the offended party and out of this to attain the revision of our mutual relations which Prussia needs in order that she may live permanently in satisfactory relations with the smaller German states. In my opinion we ought readily to pick up the glove which Bavaria seems to wish to throw to us, and to

regard it not as a misfortune, but as a step towards the crisis which will clear the way for an improvement, when a majority in Frankfurt passes a resolution in which we *might* discover a breach of the Bund treaties; the more obvious the breach is, the better. It will be long before the conditions in Austria, France, and Russia are again so favourable for our improving our position in Germany, and our confederates in the Bund are in a fair way to provide us with a fully justified opportunity to do this, even without our lending a helping hand by our own adroitness in an inconspicuous manner to their superciliousness. Even the *Kreuz Zeitung*, as I see by its Sunday edition, is puzzled, in its blind zeal, by the idea that a Frankfurt majority could calmly dispose of the Prussian army. This is not the only paper in which I have observed with uneasiness what an influence Austria has gained over the German press by a cleverly laid net, and how skilfully she uses this weapon. Without this the so-called public opinion would hardly have reached its present height; I say the so-called public opinion, for the great mass of the population is never in favour of war until it has been stirred up by actual suffering caused by severe oppression. Things have reached such a stage that a Prussian newspaper hardly dare, even under the cloak of general German feeling, confess to *Prussian* patriotism. The universal Piepmeierei * (I beg your Excellency's pardon for using this characteristic expression) plays a great rôle in all this, though the rôle played by sovereigns, which Austria never lacks for *such* a purpose, is a no less important one. Most of the correspondents write for their living, the chief object of most of the newspapers is to make a good profit, and an experienced reader can easily see in some of our Berlin and other newspapers whether these have recently received another subvention from Austria, whether they expect one, or

* Piepmeier was, in the forties, the type of a characterless muff.

whether they are giving a threatening hint that they wish for one. The *Kreuz Zeitung* does gratis anything that Koller * can wish for. The others combine their tendencies with the considerations they have to pay to the subvention on the one hand and their subscribers on the other.

I do not know whether we have not reduced our semi-official influence on the press too much, and I believe we could produce a great change of opinion if we struck the note of an independent Prussian policy in the press, as an offset to the overweening attitude assumed by our German confederates in the Bund, especially by Bavaria. Events may, perhaps, occur in Frankfurt which will provide us with full opportunity for this. It is impossible for Bavaria to keep its 108,000 men for a long time demonstratively on their legs; the Munich Cabinet will now attach itself still more closely than heretofore to Austria, if Schrenk is not unfaithful to his past, and Pfordten will feel the necessity of directing the attention of the world to the debates of the Bund assembly.

In these eventualities the wisdom of our military precautionary measures may, as your Excellency has already mentioned in your telegraphic despatch, be manifested in other directions also, and emphasise our attitude. Then Prussian self-confidence will strike as loud a note as that of the Bundestag, and one that will perhaps have more important results. I should like to see the word "German" written instead of "Prussian" on our banner only when we are bound more closely and more expediently to the rest of our countrymen than we are at present; it loses its charm when it is used too much in its Bundestag nexus.

I fear that your Excellency will exclaim in spirit *ne sutor ultra crepidam* to this epistolatory expedition into the domain of my former work; it was not, however, my inten-

* Austrian Minister in Berlin.

tion to make an official report, but only to give the testimony of an expert against the Bund. In my eyes our relationship with the Bund is an infirmity of Prussia's which, sooner or later, we shall have to heal *ferro et igni* if we do not take a favourable opportunity to combat it in time. If the Bund were simply dissolved to-day, and nothing else set up in its place, I believe that even on the basis of this negative achievement better and more natural relations between Prussia and her German neighbours would result. If our relations to them were analogous to those which Austria, by virtue of the treaties which are now contested, had with the Italian Duchies, it would be, *mutatis mutandis,* a great progress for us.

v. Bismarck.

52

Bismarck to General Gustav v. Alvensleben.

St. Petersburg, *May* 14, '59.

Dear Alvensleben,

The enclosed copy of a letter to Schleinitz was originally intended for the Prince of Hohenzollern;* when it was ready, however, I became doubtful as to how his Highness might regard the matter in his inmost heart, and whether he would not take amiss my sending him a copy of a letter to his colleague Schleinitz, as if I did not give the gentlemen credit for being on sufficiently intimate terms to communicate to each other what it would profit them to know. I believe, too, that Schleinitz will show my letter to his Royal Highness the Regent, although I hardly hope that it will be relished there. If you have the inclination and the opportunity to inflame the spark of Royal ambition in the Prince, kindly use the contents of the enclosure as if I had written in a special letter to you exactly what I wrote

* President of the Ministry of State.

to Schleinitz; it is only a question of the heading and the ending. There is always an element of mistrust when I write to Schleinitz, and at the same time send you a copy of the letter, and the Prince allows this to transpire.

I expect my wife has by this time at last torn her bleeding heart away from Frankfurt, and has had the pleasure of seeing you again in Berlin. I hope to fetch her in June or July from Pomerania, as I cannot leave her to her fate among a population ignorant of the German language and customs.

Adieu, and greet the few who deserve it, from

Your faithful

v. Bismarck.

The letter was addressed:

To Herr von Alvensleben

Major General and Adjutant to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent,

Berlin.

On the back of the envelope was written in pencil by the Prince Regent:

Found in the despatch-bag during your absence, and opened by me.

W. P(rince) R(egent).

53

Bismarck to Minister v. Schleinitz.

St. Petersburg, *May* 29, '59.

Your Excellency,

With reference to my request for permission to be absent from St. Petersburg for four days, I most obediently announce that Prince Gortchakoff goes to Tsarskoe Selo on June 1st, for a fortnight, to undergo a "cure" which he needs on account of constant throat trouble and hoarseness. He has expressed the wish that during this time we will call on him only when most urgent matters of business demand a

personal interview. There is thus all the less reason to apprehend that the service will suffer through my short absence. The city is rapidly emptying, owing to the great heat, and we diplomats are being more and more reduced to our own society, which is a state of affairs not always particularly agreeable. My German colleagues, in particular, are a chronic sore point for me. Although, by reason of Frankfurt antecedents and slanders, I am no *persona grata* with them, they claim the right of countrymen to fall back on me for political communications, as they hardly ever see Prince Gortchakoff themselves, and he discusses higher politics with them only within the narrowest official limits. Their assurance in putting the most indiscreet questions to me *à brûle-pourpoint* passes the conception of a well-trained politician, and Count Karolyi * in particular develops the most inconsiderate determination in this direction, always under the pretext of our friendly Bund relations. Whatever attitude I assume towards these questions, my answers are always abused. If I colour my remarks with a certain consideration for the questioner, i. e. in the Austrian-Middle-State sense, I hear the very next day from Gortchakoff that he has learned through Belgian, English, or Greek (Prince Soutzo is a favourite of the Minister's) channels that Prussia is after all beginning to yield to the majority of her confederates, as even I now appreciate the justice of their standpoint. If I evade an answer, it is stated that I associate only with Russians, French, and English, but play the reserved, great-power representative towards my German countryman. If I honourably take the standpoint of our Government, that the initiative in Germany is to come from us, and endeavour to remove illusions, and to give no encouragement to impassioned hopes, I am accused, in German circles here, and in reports to the home Governments, of being a Bonapartist, and of conspiring against Germany,

* Austrian Minister at St. Petersburg.

with all the exaggerations and misrepresentations to which I became accustomed in the Frankfurt days, and which during the past eight years have so often found expression in complaints against me, even in the private correspondence of the Princes themselves. The whole evil results from the circumstance that the representatives of the smaller states have nothing to do, or take no interest in the business connected with the protection of their countrymen, but concern themselves with higher politics, about which they know nothing but what they glean from chit-chat. Fortunately, Count Münster * is leaving on Wednesday. Under his outer covering of Low-Saxon indifference he is the most excitable of all, and it is doubly difficult for me, owing to our intimate personal acquaintanceship, to reply as a diplomat to the questions he brings up as a "good friend," in such a manner as to give him as little material as possible for his reports or for complaints. Könneritz † professes extreme enthusiasm for Prussia, abuses Beust and Austria, and talks as if he were acting under a Carlowitz ministry. Montgelas ‡ is in a great state of vexation at the depreciation of Austrian securities, and seems, strangely enough, to consider that the only means of remedying this is to be found in a general war. When I suggested that collections might be made in Germany in aid of our benevolent society here he replied that not a single kreuzer would be forthcoming in Bavaria, as all the wealthy people there were on the verge of ruin; his father-in-law, he said, had been obliged to reduce his establishment of six horses to two, and the rich Count Schönborn was in a most painful situation, as everybody had realised their investments. "This," he added, "accounts for the angry feelings in our country against Napoleon."

* Hanoverian Minister at St. Petersburg.
† Saxon Minister at St. Petersburg.
‡ Bavarian Minister at St. Petersburg.

Prince Gortchakoff read me to-day a note to Budberg on his last conversation with Karolyi, and asks me to write to your Excellency that Budberg may communicate it, if requested to do so; it agrees with the contents of my last direct report to his Royal Highness.

Your Excellency's
most obedient
v. Bismarck.

54

Bismarck to Minister v. Schleinitz.

(Draft.)

Berlin, *September* 25, '59.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to report, as arranged, on the conversation I have had here with Budberg.* I gather from what he said that the question whether and how the two exalted personages could meet had already been considered, and had been the subject of communications to Budberg; also that while the Czar on the one hand eagerly wishes for the meeting, he does not, on the other hand, see how it can take place in the immediate vicinity of his Majesty the King, so long as the condition of the latter is such that he is not permitted to receive anybody.

The Czar's view is, that not only would he himself feel it keenly, but a painful impression would also be made on public opinion if he paid a visit to the Court here without being able to show his sympathy with such a near relation as the King in his sufferings.

Knowing the Czar's mode of thought, I quite believe that Budberg's version is the simple truth, and that the endeavour to shift the meeting to Warsaw has no connection

* At that time Russian Minister at Berlin.

with his utterances against me, although he hinted that the appearance of the Emperor Franz Josef at Warsaw was within the bounds of possibility. At all events, I told him that in my personal opinion a fresh visit of his Royal Highness the Regent to Warsaw would not produce the impression in the political world which *we* should think desirable. He then suggested Breslau, and asked if there were troops enough there to give the Czar a review. I replied that it did not seem to me that there was any need for the obvious pretext of seeing a few regiments, but that the former visit of his Royal Highness the Regent, the intimate family relations, and the pending political questions would make a meeting between the Czar and his august uncle appear perfectly natural to everybody. Budberg coincided with this, is anxious for it, and added only that a confidential suggestion or hint that his visit would be welcome might be given to the Czar, perhaps through Loën.* If the King's condition compelled him to be out of Berlin there would be nothing to bring the Czar here; in that case Breslau seems to me the only suitable place.

Prince Gortchakoff will arrive at Warsaw a few days before the Czar. Should his Royal Highness perhaps think it expedient that I should be at the Court there when the Czar arrives, and be the means of conveying the invitation, I would beg to be favoured with the necessary orders, so that I can make my arrangements in good time. I can only most dutifully repeat that I feel convinced that the interview will politically create a very favourable impression.

My friend Unruh called on me here yesterday; he says that the effect of the reply to the Stettin address is favourable, and told me, as an indication of the feelings which now prevail, that Metz, the very advanced democratic chieftain from Darmstadt, had exclaimed in Frankfurt: "Rather the most rigorous Prussian military rule than the *misère* of

* Prussian Military Attaché at St. Petersburg.

the little states." He hoped soon to read in the newspapers a reply to the Austrian note to the Duke of C(oburg), in which at least the defectiveness of the Bund Constitution would be admitted.

I leave to-day for Reinfeld in Pomerania; I would like to arrange for a large *diligence* to take me and my family from the frontier to St. Petersburg. As this has to be ordered ten days ahead, I should be very grateful to your Excellency if any instructions tending to expedite or delay my departure could be sent to me at Reinfeld.

v. BISMARCK.

55

MINISTER v. SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BADEN, *September 29, '59.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

The manner in which you treated the subject of the interview with Herr v. Budberg is in complete accord with our most gracious master's ideas and wishes in the matter. His Royal Highness says, however, that as no one, not even his immediate family relations, see the King, the Czar of Russia might also take the same position, and need not make this a reason for not visiting Berlin. But the Prince, too, is of opinion that in the present circumstances a third place might be preferable for the meeting, and he quite agrees that this should be Breslau. I will now put the matter into the hands either of Loën (neither the Prince nor I know whether he will accompany the Czar or not) or of Budberg, so that it may be settled as soon as possible. As it is now most probable that the idea will be carried into effect, decorum seems to demand that you should be at Warsaw when the Czar is there; it appears to me, therefore, that it would be better if you delayed your departure for St. Petersburg

for a time, which I hope will not seriously add to the inconveniences attendant on the removal of your family there.

Unruh's communication confirms a fact which is as remarkable as it is gratifying. We shall, I imagine, soon be able to comply with the wish for the publication of our reply in the matter of Austria *contra* Coburg.

In conclusion, I execute the commissions of two fair ladies; I have to express to you on the part of her Majesty the Queen of Holland * her extreme regret that, owing to an alleged alteration of your outward appearance, she did not at once recognise you on the promenade here, while the Princess Obolenski has requested me to tell you how much she misses you here, and in her name to say all sorts of nice things to you.

In fulfilling this agreeable mandate, which I do with pleasure, though through lack of time and space only summarily, I am,

Your most faithful
SCHLEINITZ.

56

MINISTER V. SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *December* 31, '59.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I need not tell you how sincerely glad I am that you can now be considered as reconvalescent † in the fullest sense of the word. My joy would, it is true, be still greater if your health had permitted you now, or in the near future, to resume a post where you are at the present moment simply indispensable, and where, in my opinion, you cannot be replaced even provisionally. Things cannot remain as they are, both on their own account and in view of the re-

* Sophie, the daughter of King William I. of Wurtemburg.

† Bismarck was laid up with severe inflammation of the lungs from the beginning of November, 1859, to the beginning of March, 1860.

peated hints that we have received from St. Petersburg. As a matter of fact, we are practically not represented at all at the Russian Court; that this, at a time when Austria has given Count Thun * *carte blanche* to re-establish the old relations with Russia on *any* condition, and when it is, therefore, of extreme importance for us to watch these endeavours which are so closely united with Prince Gortchakoff's personal position and future, must be characterised as an absolutely inadmissible state of affairs, no one, my esteemed friend, will be more ready to recognise than yourself. The congress has been extremely doubtful ever since the *brochure de l'Empereur,* but even if Gortchakoff should not leave St. Petersburg for the present, we cannot longer postpone making at any rate a provisional arrangement. The candidates who could be considered are very few. Harry Arnim would be a very suitable person, but as he is only a Secretary of Legation we could not, without giving mortal offence, appoint him over the first Secretary and acting *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg,† unless another post could be found for the latter, which for the moment is impossible. In these circumstances the only suitable and also available person seems to me to be Count Perponcher, on whom the choice of the Prince Regent also has fallen, and who is to proceed about the middle of next month on a special mission to St. Petersburg. The object of my official letter of to-day is to inform you of this decision, which I hope will meet with your approval. The domestic and pecuniary arrangements will also undoubtedly be settled in a manner satisfactory to you; I will certainly do all that lies in my power to bring this about. I need not repeat that in making these arrangements both the Regent and myself are actuated chiefly by the wish to reconcile the requirements of the service as much as possible with consideration for what you deem advisable, and especially with your

* Austrian Minister at St. Petersburg. † Prince Croy.

health. If, as it seems almost probable, you will not be able to return to St. Petersburg during the severe winter months, we should be very glad to see you here, at least as soon as possible, and your offer to place the questions of foreign policy in a right light before our honourable peers is *eventualiter* gratefully accepted.

With best wishes for as rapid a recovery as possible, and in sincere friendship,

Your faithfully devoted

SCHLEINITZ.

57

FREIHERR VON SCHLEINITZ, MINISTER OF STATE, TO BISMARCK.

BADEN-BADEN, *June* 25, '60.

DEAR FRIEND,

My best thanks for the two interesting private letters, which I have not found leisure to answer until the present moment; there is very little leisure even here, however.

In the first place I must protest decidedly against your conjecture, formed from some remarks of Gortchakoff's, that we made overtures to the St. Petersburg Cabinet some months ago which were taken as being invitations to establish a coalition against France, and were answered in the negative. We have racked our brains in vain to discover what could be meant by this, and for the sake of greater security I have also questioned Perponcher *ad articulos* on the alleged *conatus*. He, too, cannot remember having said or written anything that could by any stretch of imagination be made to bear the interpretation mentioned above. If the whole matter is not based on a misunderstanding on your or Gortchakoff's part, an endeavour should be made to trace the object underlying these poetic insinuations. The report of your audience with the Czar has made a pleasing, and at the same time a painful impression. Pleasing, in so far as all the Czar's

utterances reflect his noble, disinterested feelings and his friendly disposition towards Prussia; painful, in so far as the eminent gentleman exerts himself to win us over to an idea which, at least in his own opinion, does not promise to be of much practical value. He wishes for a more intimate relationship between us and France, chiefly on the grounds that the Emperor Louis Napoleon might be kept from unbecoming things by the respectable society into which he would thus be removed. With this we can fully accord, and to this end we will always give Russia our most sincere and zealous co-operation. For a long time past we have persistently laboured, with the same object that impels the Czar Alexander, to live with our western neighbour in the most friendly relations possible. We shall persevere in these endeavours, but will the *Imperator* on the Seine be satisfied in the long run with a relationship that does not assume a more or less *exclusive* character, and that does not pursue quite special aims, furthering France's aims? I hardly believe this will be the case, and am more inclined to surmise that by a *preferential* intimacy with France we should gradually, without knowing it and without wishing it, be drawn within the sphere of her policy. An examination of the individual political questions which occupy public attention at present shows at once that in no single case are the aims of France also ours, or our aims also those of France. It seems to me that there is, or at least ought to be, this same lack of agreement between the Russian and the French policy. Russia can approve the policy of France neither in the Savoy nor in the Italian question, and if she does not oppose it she is actuated by what will perhaps be the very delusive hope of obtaining valuable compensation, preferably in the Orient, for her complaisance. France will not quit her hold in the Oriental question, however, until she thinks she can do so with the best advantage to *herself*. The *entente* even be-

tween *Russia* and France would thus rest upon a very weak foundation, and what sort of a rôle should *we* play, as the third party in the alliance, and with no compensation in view? The impossibility of a *special* alliance or a special *entente* with the Emperors of the east and the west does not, however, preclude, I repeat it, our endeavouring to place ourselves on the most friendly footing with *both* of them. This is, fortunately, the natural and normal relationship with Russia. With respect to France, the recent interview at Baden will, as Prince Gortchakoff rightly says, hardly fail to exert a beneficent influence on the *near* future. The *mot d'ordre* has been given on all sides in France, with the object of attaining this effect; the press and his Majesty's *entourage* repeat *à l'envie* the expression of the Imperial satisfaction at the complete success of the Baden rendezvous. Careful observers are of opinion that the Emperor had looked for a heartier and warmer reception, and that he felt the indifference of the German public, which bordered on coolness, all the more keenly as he had no reason to complain of similar symptoms of the public opinion when he travelled to Stuttgart three years ago. But *n' importe*, it is a *parti pris* that the interview was successful beyond all expectations, and contributed considerably towards assuring peace, so that *we* too will endeavour to exploit it in this sense. It is especially gratifying to us that the Prince-Regent has, on this occasion, been so successful from all points of view. Everyone praises his simple, natural, dignified demeanour towards the Emperor, who, as we learn from Paris, was greatly pleased with and much impressed by him. His manly, frank, and energetic procedure has made an extremely beneficial impression also on the German Princes. They are now convinced that they will not succeed in getting him to dance to their tune, or in prevailing on him to inaugurate a change of system, as several of them had already

made tentative efforts to do. All these gentlemen have, more or less, appeared here not only in the light of Prussian vassals, but as such in their own feelings, and *that*, at all events, is a gratifying and *new* sign of the times. How matters will develop depends on various external circumstances, but especially on the form the great political relationships will take. With regard to these and *in specie* with regard to the Orient, I do not see why we should not do our utmost to support the Russian policy; this will be all the easier and less dangerous the more we convince ourselves that as a matter of fact it is a question *de rattacher et non pas de faire tomber la proie.*

In sincere friendship,

Your faithfully devoted

SCHLEINITZ.

58

FREIHERR VON SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *August* 3, '60.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

Receive my best thanks for the numerous and interesting private communications with which you have favoured me recently, and do not deny me the general pardon for the sins of omission I commit now as heretofore in not answering these communications as punctually and as fully as they are made to me.

We have every reason to be satisfied with the Teplitz meeting.* On the one side a certain tranquillity, a feeling of greater security, has been produced, the effect of which is already perceptible in general business life; on the other side (France) a stimulus has been given to the conviction that an encroaching and aggressive policy on this side of

* July 26, 1860.

the Rhine, and, it is to be hoped, a little on the other bank of the Rhine too, would encounter a fairly compact and well-organised resistance. This is very important, not alone for Germany, but also in regard to those smaller intermediate countries which naturally lean on Germany, and which but too easily lose their courage when they feel the ground there slipping away from under their feet. A good impression could not but be made here by the fact that in St. Petersburg full justice has been done to our intuitions with respect to the Teplitz meeting, and the opportunity used to make such friendly representations on our behalf to the Vienna Cabinet; our acknowledgments for this are especially due to Prince Gortchakoff, and I beg of you to give them fitting expression. Until now little more has been observable on the part of the Austrian Cabinet than good resolutions, with which, as is well known, the way to hell is paved. The future will show in how far they are meant seriously, and we shall have to be guided, in rendering our return services, by what actual form those resolutions take. Now that Russia has dropped her *article additionel* to the Syrian treaty, there is nothing to prevent the latter being signed; we, on our part, would willingly have met the Russian wishes in this matter, and it appears to me that the English, in their mistrust, went too far when they considered it necessary to reject them even in the fairly inoffensive form in which they were finally proposed. . . . I have taken the necessary steps to put an end to the misuse of the despatch-bag, and am grateful to you for drawing my attention to the matter. I have already informed you of the connection between this and the case containing the continuation of the works of Frederick II. Since the matter has been mentioned to Prince Gortchakoff, there is nothing to be done but to complete it; the Prince thinks, however, that it will be sufficient if you accompany the present to the *prince-*

ministre, with a few complimentary words on the part of his Royal Highness.

I wish I deserved, more than is the case, your thanks for having received the last instalment of your salary in full. During my stay at Baden the draft was laid before me of an instruction to you, in which you were called upon to refund a *very* considerable sum. I hesitated to sign this instruction, as the whole affair seemed to me somewhat questionable, until I had made further enquiries respecting it. The matter is thus still in abeyance. Whatever I can do conscientiously towards settling it in a manner satisfactory to you shall certainly be done. Perhaps you could equip me *sub rosa* with some arguments, which I shall gladly urge in your favour.

The crab-apple Montgelas and his no less crabbed wife are no enviable acquisition for us, and we have made a very bad exchange for Bray. It is incredible that such a choice can be made at Munich, especially at a time when very friendly feelings towards Prussia are expressed, although perhaps *re vera* they do not exist.

In sincere friendship,

Cordially yours,

SCHLEINITZ.

59

BISMARCK TO PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

(Draft.)

ST. PETERSBURG, *September* 3, '60.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

At last I have received the works of Frederick the Great, which his Royal Highness the Regent told me in Berlin in the spring would be sent off directly after my departure for this place, as a confirmation of the sentiments towards you which you know me to have readily and frankly represented for years past.

Some weeks ago a misunderstanding led me to suppose that a case containing a copy with supplements, intended for his Majesty, also contained your copy, which I now have the honour to hand to you.

Accept the expression of my unalterable esteem.

v. Bismarck.

60

Freiherr von Schleinitz to Bismarck.

Berlin, *September* 21, '60.

Esteemed Friend,

The various communications you have recently addressed to me in the form of private letters have reached me in the country, in Thuringia, where I had no lack of time but of favourable opportunities and of material to answer them. On my return to the Residence two days ago I found such an immense accumulation of diplomatic reports and documents that even to-day I must limit myself to a few lines, the chief object of which is to thank you for your interesting letters, and to let you know that I have succeeded, though not without a hard struggle, in averting the deduction from your salary that has long been hanging over your head.

The object of the autograph letter from the Prince, which is being sent off to you to-day for presentation to the Czar, is to designate the course which our most gracious master has followed hitherto in his meetings, and which he desires not to depart from at the Warsaw *rendezvous*. Whether this quite accords with the views of the Czar and Prince Gortchakoff, with which we are as yet somewhat in the dark, remains to be seen. We take it as a matter of course that the Warsaw meeting must not

assume the character of a demonstration directed against England, though this is a danger which, in view of Prince Gortchakoff's repeatedly emphasised *Continental* interests, has perhaps been too intentionally hinted at to permit of the possibility of the existence of a more deeply laid plan on the part of the Russian Cabinet. In any case, we must be on our guard, even if France should not perhaps be represented at Warsaw in person, which appears to me not to be without the bounds of possibility, but only in spirit.

Your yesterday's telegram respecting the recall of the minister from Turin arrived here safely yesterday. Budberg had spoken to me on the subject shortly before. We have agreed to await the communication giving the motives, which cannot be here until next Tuesday. *Prima facie* the affair seems to me to be of great import. What is being carried on between Piedmont and Rome before our eyes is of such a nature that Hugo Grotius, Pufendorf, Vatel, and the deceased Wheaton would have something to say to it, only it is, in effect, a new edition, and not an enlarged one, of what, in respect of Tuscany, the Duchies, the Romagna, and lately of Naples, has been issued as current coin of the Piedmontese policy without the members of the European Areopagus having attained the height of even a modest protest. The recall by reason of an analogous attitude towards Rome would, therefore, appear to me to be a logical hiatus, which would be all the more serious as it might be brought into an undesirable causal-nexus with the French example, which, especially in this case, could not, for many reasons, be recommended for imitation. All these, however, are only temporary impressions, and we must *in any case* wait for the Russian communication before we arrive at any definite decision.

The Grand-Duchess Helene, who received me to-day and honoured me with a long interview, leaves for St.

Petersburg on the evening of the day after to-morrow; the Prince-Regent starts at the same time to receive Queen Victoria at Aix.

With sincere friendship,

Your

SCHLEINITZ.

61

UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE v. GRUNER TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *September* 28, '60.

MOST ESTEEMED HERR v. BISMARCK,

We have just received most unpleasant news. A week ago a Feldjäger was about to leave for you on board a Russian ship, when we were informed by the English Legation that the English Minister at St. Petersburg was returning to St. Petersburg by this vessel, and we might make use of this safe opportunity. Thereupon the despatches which you will receive with this letter were sent to the English Legation. While we were imagining that you would long ago have received these despatches, and especially the letter from his Royal Highness the Regent to his Majesty Czar Alexander, we suddenly receive them all back again. The despatch-box belonging to the English Legation had remained at Stettin, and has only just been returned; our despatches, which were found in it, were at once handed to one of our messengers who happened to be at the English Legation at the time. There is no time to lose, the despatches must go off at once, and I hasten to send you these few words of explanation (in addition to a short official note) to enable you to explain and to offer excuses for the delay in handing over the letter to the Czar.

We will telegraph as soon as we have learned the actual facts of the case, and if fresh explanations are forthcoming.

I must close or we shall be too late.

With expressions of the highest esteem and devotion,

v. GRUNER.

62

PRINCE CARL OF PRUSSIA TO BISMARCK.

November 18, '60.
SUNDAY, 9 A. M.

I have just received an invitation to dine with Michail Nikolagevitsch to-day; I at once sent to my younger brother * that we should agree in declining, to which he replies that we cannot do this, as the birthday of a little Grand-Duke is to be celebrated *en famille*. He tells me also that he has already *declined your invitation*. In these circumstances I must also do likewise, unpleasant as it is for me!

The younger brother might first have sought my *assentiment* before he decided to decline, but that he never does.

I beg to be allowed to repeat my apologies to you and your wife between twelve and one o'clock.

With kindest regards,

CARL. PRINZE v. PREUSSEN.

63

PRINCE KARL ANTON ZU HOHENZOLLERN TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *November* 22, '60.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Will you kindly have the enclosed forwarded to its destination? It contains a treatise on historic art, written at my instigation, in which an attempt is made to prove that Raphael also practised the art of copper-plate engraving. I have promised to do what I can for the author, Prof. Andreas Müller, of Düsseldorf, and sending it to the Academy

* Prince Albrecht.

of Arts is merely an attention to which he is entitled on account of the *novum* of his discovery.

Everything is very quiet here, and all energies are being applied to preparation for the coming fight in the Landtag. The external situation will have to come to the aid of the internal affairs, for we have spent much money and will still need much more to make the army reform a reality. . . .

With cordial wishes for your Excellency's continued well-being, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

FÜRST ZU HOHENZOLLERN.

64

FREIHERR VON SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *December* 25, '60.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I have just heard that your Feldjäger has arrived at Gumbinnen, and I have decided to send him back to St. Petersburg at once with some documents which have been waiting for a safe means of conveyance to you. The documents relate particularly to the Warsaw interviews and the four *points*. In the reply to the Thouvenel despatch to Montebello* we restrict ourselves to taking note of what is acceptable in the contents, that is to say, of the assurance that military measures for the protection of German territory, and *on* German territory, will not be regarded by France as a breach of neutrality in a war between Austria and Italy. I also consider it necessary to intimate at the same time that we did not wish, by doing this, to prejudice Germany's attitude in case of such a war breaking out. In my opinion, however, Germany's attitude will depend chiefly on what she can do, without over-estimat-

* Napoléon Auguste, Duke of Montebello, was French Minister in St. Petersburg; Thouvenel was French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

ing her powers, to retain Venice for Austria, for I am ever more persuaded that Germany is interested in the retention of this Austro-Italian possession not only for reasons of military security, but also on account of the inevitable consequence of dismemberment. The present disposition of fortresses could not, in the opinion of all experts, be improved on in the interest of Germany. Moreover, there seems to be no reason why the Italian national movement should cross the Austrian frontier with impunity and respect the German frontiers, for, as a matter of fact, these territories are as decidedly Italian as Venice can ever be. It should be clear to everybody, after what passes before our eyes, and in view of the disgraceful principles acknowledged without shame even by great powers, that no security can be afforded against such a transgression by treaties, guarantees, or similar paper pledges. Finally, however, and this is the main point, it is neither more nor less than a revolutionary movement which is being promoted, under the cloak of nationality, simply in the interests of imperial France, whose object is to set in commotion all the nations and people inimical to Germany, and when it has succeeded, and we are confronted from the Adriatic to the Baltic with a girdle of separating and hostile elements, to fish quite comfortably in troubled waters in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. The revolution will not be ended by the disjunction of Venice, but will thereby receive a fresh and dangerous impetus. Russia, too, will have said all this to herself. I cannot share your favourable anticipations respecting the future united kingdom of Italy. I will admit that, under certain circumstances, it might one day be our ally; I believe, however, that we shall see it more frequently in the ranks of our enemies, especially in the train of France, than among the number of our friends. Furthermore, as an ally it could render us no important services in any direction, while as an adver-

sary associated with others it may be very inconvenient and even dangerous. It is therefore impossible for us to accede to England's wish and press Austria to sell Venice, or to make one single proposition to Austria which if made to *us* must cause us to fling the proposer out of the door. I quite agree with you that it is none of Prussia's business to pose outside her own frontiers as the champion or the Don Quixote of legitimacy. That is no reason, however, why we should not proceed against revolution with all the means at our disposal when it makes its way into our sphere of power or of interest. Whether, and to what extent, we shall do this in Italy, is, as I have mentioned, less a political than a military question; and the unfortunate part of the situation is that in the present condition of affairs in Austria no one can say how far this power is to be reckoned on in a general tohu bohu.

The news received from you yesterday of the death of Minutoli * pains me greatly, as he has become the victim of his perhaps exaggerated zeal in the service. His death is a serious blow to his large family, and his aged mother.

Excuse the hastiness and the defects of this letter; I will only add my best wishes for your welfare in the coming year and at the present Christmas time, which is probably a less pleasant one for you than for your children.

In sincere friendship,

Your faithful

SCHLEINITZ.

My best thanks for the caviare brought by Prince Croy. I must add, however, that repetitions of this kindness must be accompained by the respective bills, if my enjoyment of them is not to be troubled with stings of conscience.

* Prussian Minister in Teheran.

65

Count Nesselrode * to Bismarck.

December 18-30, '60.

Hearty thanks, esteemed Herr von Bismarck, for the Pomeranian goose. I accept it all the more gladly, as I regard it as a specimen of the genuine old Pomeranian species. Fattening geese is, in my opinion, a far more useful occupation than delivering high-flown Liberal speeches in the Chambers.

I have yet another request to make to you, viz. that you will grant an interview to State-Secretary Reutern. He is a member of the Excise Commission, and wishes to ask you for information on this subject, which is such an important one for Russia. Would you be so kind as to appoint a day and a time when he might call upon you?

Your faithful

Gr. Nesselrode.

66

Bismarck to the Grand-Duke Constantine.†

(Draft.)

St. Petersburg, *Feb.* 6, '61.

My Lord,

I venture to depart from the customary procedure, and to address directly to your Imperial Highness the request of a Prussian subject for an audience. It is Mr. Aug. Luhdorf, an Elberfeld merchant, who solicits this honour, in order that he may submit to your Imperial Highness the result of the observations he has made during a five years' sojourn on the Amur. He is staying at the Kaiser Hotel.

The extreme interest taken by your Imperial Highness in the maritime establishments of Eastern Siberia encourages

* Formerly Russian Imperial Chancellor.

† Translated from the original French.

me not to refuse my intervention in circumstances which are devoid of any official character, and in which only the indulgence of your Imperial Highness can render it admissible. I remain, etc.,

BISMARCK.

67

FREIHERR VON SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *February* 14, '61.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

It is to be hoped that no undue importance, *i. e.*, no importance outside the four walls of the House of Deputies, is attached in Russia to Vincke's amendment.* The King left no doubt on the subject in his reply to the address, which *re vera* was couched in much sharper terms than appear in the newspapers. The Lazarus Order would be quite a suitable reward for the Westphalian Freiherr, on which he could be cordially congratulated.

I fully share your view in the Holstein affair, and spoke in this sense during the debates in committee, at first against an intractable majority, but finally amid general concurrence. In the House itself the feeling for the whole affair was so cool that, in view of the Danish rodomontades, it did not seem to me expedient to pour more cold water into this lukewarm kettle, while, on the other hand, I could not consider myself called upon to brandish the ministerial war-torch. My silence, in these circumstances, seemed to be more than gold. Our deputies have not gained much in public opinion by the protracted throes through which the address has had to pass, and by the final result of the latter, which expresses nobody's true opinion.

The Austrian-Russian ambassador question seems gradually to be approaching a settlement. From all that

*Freiherr von Vincke's amendment added to the address of the House of Deputies a clause stating that the consolidation of Italy was a European necessity.

I hear of Stackelberg, we can congratulate ourselves on this choice.

For some time past the public here has been very peaceably inclined, and it is scarcely probable that there will be an *early* outbreak. It remains to be seen whether, now that Gaëta has capitulated, the Piedmontese will lose their heads, and the peace programme be thrown overboard. Some uneasiness seems to have been felt at first in Paris concerning the King's alleged warlike speeches, but this is evidently now entirely removed.

In sincere friendship and esteem,

Your faithfully devoted,

SCHLEINITZ.

68

MINISTER V. SCHLEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 21, '61.

MY DEAR BISMARCK,

The more *old* sins of omission I have on my conscience, the more anxious I am not to burden it with *new* ones, and I therefore hasten to reply to your friendly lines of the fifteenth instant. I thoroughly appreciate the numerous and well-founded motives which make it desirable for you to turn your back for a time on your northern residence, and will at once apprise his Majesty the King of them, and advocate them to the utmost of my power. The question of a substitute will, it is to be hoped, be arranged satisfactorily. Croy has, with patriotic self-sacrifice, expressed his readiness to return to St. Petersburg at once, notwithstanding his father's illness; I have, however, endeavoured to cool this noble zeal as considerably as possible, as you will have seen from the copy which has been forwarded to you of the note to the Westphalian Ritter de Lorge. I hope Schlözer will perfectly suffice for a not too long *interim*, and that your absence on leave will not occasion you any pecuniary sacrifice

beyond the customary extra expenses incurred by the substitute.

The question of swearing allegiance still causes great difficulty, as there is a divergence of opinion between his Majesty the King and the majority of his advisers as to the form the ceremony shall take. It is, however, already certain that it will not take place before the beginning of October. Your wish to be present at it, whether as a faithful vassal or as a citizen, will not, I hope, deter you from following up your idea of taking your regular leave earlier.

If the state of public business permits it, the King contemplates leaving Berlin at the end of this or at the beginning of next month, most probably for Baden, where his Majesty intends to take a course of Kissingen waters. As soon as his Majesty grants your leave of absence, I will inform you by telegraph, in order that you may be able to leave St. Petersburg with as little delay as possible. Finally, I must express my warmest thanks for your frequent private communications during the past spring, which I ought to have done long ago. The many and interesting facts contained in them, and the humour with which they are told, have provided not only me, but also our most gracious master, to whom I felt justified in showing your private correspondence, from time to time with a bright *intermezzo* in an anxious and difficult time, for which we have always been grateful. With sincere friendship,

Cordially yours,

SCHLEINITZ.

69

BISMARCK TO THE PRINCESS MENCHIKOFF.*

Saturday. (Late Autumn, '61. ?)

MADAME,

An indisposition a little more serious than usual prevents me from traversing the short distance which separates

* Translated from the original French.

us, to ask you personally if you still have the copy of the *Statut organique** which the late Czar intended to grant to the Kingdom of Poland, and which I saw at your house a few weeks ago. As it appears that this statute is destined, after being buried in portfolios for nearly thirty years, to at least a partial resurrection, I should be extremely obliged if you would lend it to me for a quarter of an hour, should it still be in your possession.

The last book I borrowed from you, at Baden, was the analysis of an imaginary wound in the heart of an egoist; to-day I am asking you to give me the recipe of the poultice which a heart, not egoist enough, proposes to apply to a real but incurable sore.

I entreat you to pardon me, Madame, if you find me an importunate neighbour, and to accept the expression of my sincere devotion.

v. Bismarck.

70

The Princess Menchikoff to Bismarck.†

(Autumn, '61. ?)

I regret extremely that I cannot send you the little volume in question; it belonged to my father-in-law, who left this morning for Moscow. As it is of interest to you, I will try and obtain it for you elsewhere. I fear the concessions will be granted too late, they were anything but liberal. I am sorry to hear of your indisposition. With kindest regards.

Psse. Menchikoff.

71

Minister Count v. Bernstorff to Bismarck.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

Berlin, *March 17, '62.*

His Majesty destines you for another diplomatic appointment, and commands me to request you to make arrange-

* Of February 14-16, 1832.

† Translated from the original French.

ments for leaving St. Petersburg, and to come here, as soon as you receive your letters of recall, which are now before his Majesty for signature, and which will be forwarded to you immediately. Count Goltz has been chosen as your successor; kindly enquire if he will be acceptable.

v. Bernstorff.

72

Bismarck to Minister v. Bernstorff.

(Telegraphic despatch.)

St. Petersburg, *March 22, '62.*

Prince Gortchakoff has just called on me by command of the Czar to bring his Majesty's congratulations for the King's Majesty, and to invite me to dinner. At the same time, I beg your Excellency to place at his Majesty's feet the most respectful congratulations of the Legation. A dinner is being given at the Court in honour of the day.

Telegram of seventeenth received with thanks; am now ready to leave as soon as I have had the final audiences after the arrival of my letters of recall.

v. Bismarck.

73

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Off Marseilles, on Board H. M.
the Queen of England's Yacht "Osborne."
October 21, '62.

I thank you very much for the letter which I have received to-day through Major von Schweinitz.

May you succeed in bringing about the understanding with the Chamber, which you describe as being so urgently necessary in the present difficult phase of the life of the constitution.

I follow the course of events at home with the most eager attention, and shall be grateful to you if you will keep me informed of the further progress of the discussions in the Ministry of State, and also of the state of foreign affairs.

I remain,

Your obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

74

AIDE-DE-CAMP v. SCHWEINITZ TO BISMARCK.

NAPLES, *November* 10, '62.

DEAR HERR v. BISMARCK,

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince has instructed me to thank you for your communications, and to say that lack of time prevents him from replying, but that he would be glad to receive further letters. I remarked to his Royal Highness that it was not your intention to compel him to enter into a political correspondence, but that you only considered it necessary that he should be acquainted with the course of events. The Prince then said that I should write you that he would communicate to you orally the impressions he has received here.

Now that I have fulfilled my instructions, I beg to add the following in confidence:

The Crown Prince, who is accustomed to being ignored or slighted by his uncles, and especially by the late King's highest officials, appreciates your attentions; your first letter, which I brought, and still more the sending of a courier, have pleased him very much.

That his Majesty has not gone to England,* as it was his wish to do, is ascribed on board the "Osborne" to your influence; the Crown Princess regrets this extremely.

The Prince has accepted nothing here that was offered on the part of the Government; only, when their Royal High-

* To visit the Exhibition.

nesses expressed their intention of ascending Vesuvius, I mentioned it to General LaMarmora, and suggested that some measures might be taken to ensure their safety; he at once ordered several companies of Bersaglieri to exercise right up to the crater. The General dined on board yesterday evening, and both the Princes* are going to call on him to-day. Sincerely yours,

V. SCHWEINITZ.

75

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

December 21, '62.

In reply to your enquiry of yesterday I shall be glad still to receive the usual announcements of the sittings of the Ministry of State; when confidential or particularly important matters are to be discussed, I wish to have special notice.

I am prevented by several audiences from attending to-day's sitting. Your obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

76

MINISTER VON DER HEYDT TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *January 24, '63.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Permit me in few strictly confidential words in a personal matter.

On the day of my retirement from office your Excellency was kind enough, without any suggestion from me, to remark that a Minister who has served to the sovereign's satisfaction for fourteen years would most certainly not be dismissed without a public mark of the sovereign appreciation. On several subsequent occasions your Excellency,

*The Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince.

again without any suggestion on my part, held out prospects of a public acknowledgment, adding the last time that the execution of his Majesty's intention was only postponed until it was seen whether I would re-enter the Ministry; it is now decided that this will not be the case. When your Excellency asked me, on the day of my retirement, what distinction I should prefer, I took the liberty of saying, with culpable frankness, that I should value very highly the one which was promised me before the coronation, allegedly by his Majesty's instructions, through Herr v. Auerswald, viz. the star of the Hohenzollern Order.

Other more important matters have no doubt caused all this to escape your Excellency's memory.

As, with the exception of Herr von Manteuffel, who, having been dismissed from office against his will, declined any acknowledgment of his services, and of some who resigned to obtain a higher position, no Minister has retired from office without a public acknowledgment, and as I draw neither pension nor half-pay, I may, without being indiscreet, take the liberty of addressing these lines to you in confidence, in case the non-fulfilment of his Majesty's wish is not intentional.

In any case, I rely on your kindly using this letter with discretion, and would not have troubled your Excellency with it, if you had not shown such a friendly feeling towards me on my retirement.

With expressions of the highest esteem,

VON DER HEYDT. *

77

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

February 24, '63.

As I am starting a few days earlier for Carlsruhe, *en route* for England, I wish only to let you know that I leave to-morrow morning.

* See letter No. 11, in Vol. I.

Should you wish me to despatch any important matter in England, or to send any documents, my Adjutant, Lt. Col. v. Obernitz, leaves on Sunday evening, and is, therefore, at your service, for he meets me on the way.

Au revoir after March 10th.

Your faithful

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

78

BISMARCK TO THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK.

BERLIN, *February* 25, '63.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I tender my respectful thanks for the gracious letter of yesterday's date, which I have just received, and will ask Lt. Col. von Obernitz to take with him on Sunday despatches for Count Bernstorff.

At the same time I beg most humbly to ask if your Royal Highness commands an oral report from me on the present situation before starting. What I can submit in writing contains the draft of a despatch which was sent to Count Goltz yesterday evening, and of which I do not, unfortunately, possess a fair copy. Will your Royal Highness therefore be indulgent towards the externals of the enclosure.

In deep respect, I am,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient

V. BISMARCK.

79

OBER-PRÄSIDENT SENFFT VON PILSACH TO BISMARCK.

STETTIN, *May* 9, '63.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I beg to be permitted to accompany the enclosed report to the Royal Ministry of State with this letter. The object

of this letter is to explain a considerable portion of the report, and I address it personally and confidentially to your Excellency only because I do not wish it to follow the usual course through the bureaux.

It appears that the progressive party have circulated the report that his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, is favourably inclined towards them. It is certain that this is widely believed, and consequently all the efforts of the Government to regain influence in certain circles are in vain. The exhortation to be loyal to his Majesty the King, and to his Majesty's Government, is frequently met, not only by the lower classes, but also by educated men, with the retort that the King's Majesty is old, and that his Royal Highness the Crown Prince will summon a democratic Ministry as soon as he comes to the throne.

This pernicious prejudice must be eradicated if the great dangers which threaten the Fatherland are to be removed. What is required is that in some way or other his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, shall decisively and publicly declare that he is in complete accord with the King's political principles. There appears to be further urgent necessity for this, as the dangers of a fresh outrage, which so seriously threaten the precious life of his Majesty the King, would thereby be counteracted. I most humbly suggest, therefore, that the Royal Ministry of State should beg his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, to issue such a statement. I remain,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SENFFT V. PILSACH.

80

FREIHERR VON DER HEYDT, MINISTER OF STATE, TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 7, '63.

Your Excellency will permit me to offer my congratulations on the recent measures,* which were unfortunately

* The Press regulations of June 1, 1863.

requisite. An energetic exercise of authority seems now to be the first desideratum, to which all other considerations must be subordinated.

The occurrence at Danzig, the result no doubt of injudicious promptings, is therefore all the more regrettable and disconcerting. A King must be master in his own house now more than ever, and everyone must be convinced that such is actually the case. In my opinion the inspection tour should be broken off, Duncker and Brunnemann should be at once removed from their posts by a Royal order, and his Royal Highness should be prohibited by an order from making any *official* statement on politics that might suggest a censure of the measures taken by the Government. This I regard as an absolute and immediate necessity.

If only there is no irresolution on any side, the effect looked for will soon be apparent.

Your Excellency's

Most obedient

V. D. HEYDT

81

PRINCE HENRY VII. OF REUSS TO BISMARCK.

PARIS, *June* 21, '63.

MOST ESTEEMED CHIEF,

You will see from my reports which leave here to-day that the Emperor only briefly referred to our attitude towards the Polish question; he spoke in a strikingly dry and somewhat embarrassed tone, as if he found it disagreeable to blame something to which he was aware no blame could be attached. He made no remark when I showed him how clearly justified we are in the position we have adopted. Several reasons might be advanced for his declining to enter into a discussion of the matter; my impression is, however, that he is convinced there is nothing

with which he can reproach us, and he certainly refrains from laying down principles, as his minister* found it necessary to do to Count Goltz recently in my presence.

Herr von Budberg, on whom I called yesterday immediately on my return, told me in confidence that when he pressed Drouyn recently to give the practical reason for French interference in Polish affairs the latter quite naïvely owned that an independent Poland would be of great service to France when she desired to exert pressure simultaneously on Prussia and on Austria. Although I have not the least doubt that this is the only motive for the French policy, it is singular that they have not been at greater pains to keep the cloven foot out of sight.

All the opinions that I have been able to collect here agree that Drouyn de Lhuys is a most violent agitator in Polish affairs, and at the same time cherishes the most unfriendly feelings towards us. His great ambition to immortalise his name, as his predecessors did, by some great action, may be urging him onwards. Furthermore, he believes that this zeal will advance him in the Emperor's favour, and he has an extravagant dread of having to return to his silkworms and his yaks. If only he does not meet with the fate of so many of his predecessors who, in the idea that they were pleasing the Emperor, let themselves go, and were left in the lurch once they shot out beyond the goal.

I have made a point, during my stay at Fontainebleau, of relating as many hitherto unknown stories of atrocities committed by the Poles as possible, and these will, directly or indirectly, reach the Emperor's ears. Heeckeren,† the well-known trumpeter of the *terrain* here, has rendered me

* Drouyn de Lhuys, Thouvenel's successor as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

† Baron Heeckeren, a French Senator, whom the Emperor Napoleon III. frequently employed on confidential missions.

great assistance in this matter. As he is always mixed up in great speculations he needs peace; he has, therefore, daily preached to the Emperor the strong aversion existing in the Departments to a war for Poland. His reports have a certain worth, for he won a good victory for the government when he was sent on a special mission to Alsace during the elections.

I have told Metternich* privately that by his political attitude here he is arousing the suspicion of all the Cabinets, and especially of the Conservatives in Germany. He replied that he knew this quite well, but that he could not act otherwise—as Austria needs peace and she would be threatened on all sides if France wished. He was convinced, moreover, that Austria's participation in the collective steps of the western powers would rather retard than further them, etc., etc. As may be imagined, he is now very much *cajolé;* I do not, however, agree with the others who maintain that Metternich sacrifices the Austrian policy to his agreeable position in court; he carefully cherishes his position at court, in order thereby to serve his policy.

I see in the newspapers that you are not going to Carlsbad, but to some other watering-place. I regret this for the *res publica,* though it may be better for your health.

I trust you will derive great benefit from your visit, and am,

Your most obedient,
H. VII. Reuss.

82

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Stettin, *June* 30, '63.

I learn from your letter of the tenth inst. that, by command of his Majesty the King, you have abstained from communicating officially to the Ministry of State my pro-

* Prince Richard Metternich, Austrian Ambassador in Paris.

test against the Press-restrictions decree, which I sent you from Graudenz on the third instant.

I can quite imagine that you would not find it undesirable to treat as a purely personal matter a procedure which, as you yourself acknowledge, might acquire general importance in its consequences. It would avail nothing if I insisted on that communication being presented,[1] and, indeed, as I gather from your letter, this will already have been done *non*-officially. It is, however, of importance to me to speak my mind clearly to you in respect of the alternative you put to me: to facilitate or to render more difficult the task before the Ministry. I cannot make it easier for you, as I am on principle opposed to the decree.

The principles which, in my opinion, must guide every Government in its treatment of the country are: loyal administration of the laws and the constitution, esteem for and benevolence towards an easily guided, intelligent and capable people. I cannot reconcile with these principles the policy evinced in the regulation of June 1st.

You seek to prove to me that that decree is in accordance with the constitution, and to assure me that you and your colleagues are mindful of your oath. I think, however, that a Government needs a firmer foundation than what are at least extremely questionable interpretations, which do not appeal to the healthy common-sense of the people. You yourself refer to the fact that even your opponents esteem the honesty of your convictions. I leave this statement undiscussed[2], but if you attach any value to the opinion of your opponents you must be impressed by the circumstance that the decided majority of the educated classes of our people denies that the contents of the regulation in question are in accord with the constitution. The Ministry knew beforehand that this would be the case, as it also knew that the Landtag would never have sanctioned the contents of that decree; therefore it did not lay the matter before the

Landtag, but settled it itself, and a few days afterwards published the regulation by virtue of the powers granted by Clause 63 of the constitution.

If the country does not recognise in this procedure a loyal administration of the constitution, I should like to ask what the Ministry has done to win public opinion over to its own view. It has found no other means of coming to an understanding with public opinion than by imposing silence on it.

It is useless to waste words on the question as to how the regulation can be made compatible with the esteem and the benevolence due to a willing, loyal people, which, however, as the Government will not hear its voice, is condemned to assume the rôle of the mute.

And what results do you anticipate from this policy? The pacification of agitated feelings, and the restoration of peace?

Do you imagine that you can pacify agitated feelings by means of fresh violations of the sense of justice?

It is true, you expect to be more successful in the new elections.[3] It appears to me to be contrary to human nature to hope for a change of opinions which are constantly being roused and irritated by the procedure of the Government.

I will tell you what results of your policy I foresee: You will tamper with the constitution until it loses its value in the people's eyes, and in this way you will incite anarchist endeavours which go beyond the constitution. You will also be driven, whether you wish it or not, from one venturesome interpretation to another, until finally the naked, undisguised breach of the constitution is recommended.

I regard those who lead his Majesty the King, my most gracious father, along such ways, as the most dangerous advisers for the Crown and the Fatherland.[4] [5]

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

P. S. Even before the first of this month I made a very limited use of my right to be present at the sittings of the Ministry of State.

After the convictions I have expressed above you will not be surprised that I shall ask his Majesty the King to permit me to abstain altogether in future from taking part in the sittings during the continuance of the present Ministry.

To be constantly giving public and personal expression to my opposition to the Ministry would accord neither with my position nor with my inclination. I shall, however, impose no constraint on myself in respect of expressing my opinion in all other relations, and the Ministry may reckon on the fact that it depends entirely on itself and on its further action whether, notwithstanding my great reluctance to do so, I shall feel compelled not to shrink from taking other public steps, should duty seem to demand this.

F. W. K. P.*

July 2, '63.

Marginal notes by Bismarck:

[1] No.
[2] Not very polite.
[3] No.
[4] I not. [5] Youth is always ready with words!

83

Bismarck to the Crown Prince Frederick.

(Draft.)

Carlsbad, *July* 10, '63.

Your Royal Highness,

I beg to announce that I have had the honour to receive the letter of June 30, July 2.

Your Royal Highness says in it that a constant personal expression of your opposition to the Ministry would accord

* The postscript was added at Putbus.

neither with your position nor your inclination. I believe, therefore, that I shall be complying with your Royal Highness's wishes if I respectfully refrain from replying to the judgment which your Royal Highness passes on the procedure of his Majesty's Government.

As regards the position which your Royal Highness wishes to take in future towards the Government of His Majesty the King, this is a matter of such great bearing on the welfare and the future of the State, that, in my most humble opinion, it cannot be brought up for discussion before the conclusion of the present "cure" without prejudicing the good effects looked for from the same on the King.

v. Bismarck.

84

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

July 14, '63.

While thanking you for your letter of July 10th, I hasten, with reference to the concluding sentence, to request you most decidedly not to mention my intention to his Majesty the King until you hear from his Majesty, or from me, that his Majesty is already acquainted with it. When I wrote to you that I would ask his Majesty to relieve me from attendance at the sittings of the Ministry of State, it was by no means my intention that his Majesty should learn of my decision through you. I know quite well that his Majesty must be spared all mental effort, both now and after the "cure," and will myself discuss my views and plans with his Majesty at a time which seems to me suitable.

I expect, therefore, that you will not speak to the King on this subject until you hear that his Majesty is acquainted with my purposes.

Friedrich Wilhelm. K. P.

85

BISMARCK TO THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK.
(Draft.)

BERLIN, *July* 16, '63.

I have just had the honour of receiving your Royal Highness's letter of the 14th, and hasten most respectfully to inform your Royal Highness that I have not mentioned your Royal Highness's letter of the 2nd inst. to his Majesty the King, and in accordance with your Royal Highness's command will abstain from taking the initiative in the matter. Some reports, respecting the contents of your Royal Highness's correspondence with the King, which have been circulated by the newspapers since the 2nd inst., unexpectedly came to the notice of his Majesty the day before yesterday. In consequence of this his Majesty summoned me again just before my departure and commanded me to make investigations, with the object of discovering how these communications found their way into the *Weser Zeitung*.

I beg most respectfully to report to your Royal Highness that I leave Berlin again on Saturday, to join his Majesty's suite at Regensburg, en route for Gastein, as the King has commanded me to be present at the approaching meeting with the Emperor of Austria.

V. BISMARCK.

86

BISMARCK TO GENERAL V. MANTEUFFEL.
(Telegram.)

BERLIN, *July* 16, '63.

TO GENERAL VON MANTEUFFEL,
Carlsbad.

I have not mentioned the letter* and beg you also not to do so. Sender has expressly requested this.

V. BISMARCK.

*Of June 30 (July 2) from the Crown Prince.

87

General von Roon, Minister for War, to Bismarck.

Berlin, *January* 20, '64.

Enclosed I return you the papers. I hope to see the King to-morrow, and to find him calm. No hindrance whatever must be placed in the way of the military action which is already in progress, as it has determinative political significance. If, therefore, there are any justified doubts as to how far Austria shall participate I should like to object to their being immediately formulated. As soon as the war "concerning the occupation of Schleswig" actually breaks out the probe will have to be applied, but not before that happens. The most energetic joint operations in Schleswig are not thereby precluded, and, in view of the endeavour on the part of diplomacy to localise the war within the boundaries of the Duchy, the military possibility of such a modified aggression will have to be taken into serious consideration. I doubt this possibility; I will, however, gladly omit from the instructions,* at least for the present, everything that might hint at the continuation of the war beyond the Königs-Au. It is easy to make good afterwards any omissions on this score. I will have the instructions re-written, and will send them to you to-morrow.

Permit me again to say how deeply I regret to-day's incident, for which, though against my will, I am partly to blame. *This misunderstanding must not, however, be allowed to work the ruin of Prussia, nor must it serve as a ladder on which revolution may mount to power.* *Now* I understand your objections. When you advanced them in the Cabinet meeting to-day I did not understand them, and no person with a military training would have understood them. If, therefore, they were also not understood in the

*For Field-Marshal von Wrangel.

highest quarter, and called forth expressions of impatience, you must exercise justice and forbearance.

It will absolutely not do for you, for the sake of such misunderstandings, to give up the game as lost and leave the way clear. This is no reason, however, why the attempt should not be made to discover in how far certain ill-humour indicates a lack of confidence, and this attempt I will make to-morrow. If such a lack of confidence appears actually to exist, nothing would remain to be done but to regain what has been lost or to decline to do this and retire from the field. As the latter is out of the question, the first part of the alternative must be kept in view.

We *must* overcome *all* difficulties, or we shall be scoffed and cursed. And why should we give up the game for lost? Simply because in a few cases the proposal is not received in the sense in which it is made, and things are looked at through differently coloured glasses? Certainly not!

Therefore, my noble bear-hunter, be coolly calm, and keep the aim—preservation from democratic anarchy—in view; away with fretful agitation! *Ask for equanimity and a calm heart*—I ought perhaps to have written nothing but this one last line.

Your faithful

v. Roon.

88

King William to General von Roon, Minister for War.

Berlin, *April 2, '64.*

The Minister for Finance has repeatedly suggested to me that it would be very desirable, with a view to relieving the finances, if circumstances permitted the reduction of some of the troops which are now on a war footing; he mentioned, in particular, the infantry belonging to the sixth army corps, pointing out that the object for which it was augmented has now been attained. The latter is true

enough, but it has already been necessary to remove a brigade of this corps to Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, in order, on account of assuring the safety of the situation in Berlin, to replace the ninth brigade. It is, therefore, impossible to reduce the numbers of that brigade. Bismarck has also repeatedly drawn my attention to the fact that by the employment of the greater part of the guard division before Düppel the force occupying Jutland has become too weak, so that the *political* object which it is intended to attain with this occupation cannot be accomplished. He urges, therefore, an increase of the troops there. If the necessity for the despatch of an infantry brigade on this account is acknowledged, this would again be a reason against reducing the number of troops which have once been augmented. The growing movement in Posen and West Prussia must also be taken into account, and the outlook there demands rather an increase than a reduction of the troops, while the coast defence will permit of no weakening of the forces there.

I charge you, therefore, at once to arrange for a conference with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Finance in order to discuss the points of view raised above, and to send me a joint report.

WILHELM.

89

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

HEADQUARTERS, FLENSBURG, *April* 5, '64.

I thank you very much for the political communications, and for your letter of March 30. I was interested at seeing from the latter that you wish to hear the opinion of the constitutional representatives of the Duchies on the succession question, and also that there is a prospect of the Bund troops co-operating in the defence of the east coast of Holstein.

As regards the question you put to me, whether it would not be advisable to take more effective possession of Jutland with the forces at our disposal, or whether it will be necessary to draw in reinforcements for this object, to which you join the request that I will assist in the occupation of the whole mainland of Denmark, I have the following reply to make.

From the military standpoint the troops at our disposal seem to me sufficient to force contributions from Jutland by means of expeditions, so that effective pressure can be put on this country. There seems to me to be no reason as yet for bringing up troops merely to perform such services. I cannot, however, decide definitely on this question until our brave troops have had the opportunity, for which we have been waiting for eight weeks, to inflict a decisive blow on the Danes, as after that we shall probably be able to reckon on greater compliance on the part of the enemy than has been the case heretofore.

I regret that I am unable to give you my support in respect of the political side of the question you have addressed to me, as I am unacquainted with the aims of our policy.

Your faithful

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

90

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK

HEADQUARTERS, FLENSBURG, *April* 17, '64.

I thank you very much for your letters of the 11th and 12th inst. Your communication of the 11th interested me greatly, although I cannot obtain from it a view of the aims of our policy which would enable me, from my standpoint, to countenance any definite measure with conviction.

I do not consider that it is too early to appear before public opinion with a fixed programme, and I fear that we

shall gain *nothing* by seeking to postpone the definite solution, and indeed that we should thereby only increase the European complication.

However this may be, we ought to have a fixed programme at least *for ourselves,* the realisation of which would still depend on circumstances. Instead of that the only programme I find in your communication is that we must "act according to circumstances," unless I am to draw conclusions from indications of certain secret intentions which are attributed to you, and with which it is true many of your former utterances, especially in the last Councils at which I was present before leaving to join the army, seem to harmonise.

With regard to these secret ideas of a Prussian policy of expansion, I will only state briefly that my opinion is that the prosecution of them would entirely falsify our whole German policy, and would probably place us in an unenviable position before Europe. It would not be the first time that Prussia had tried to be better than everybody else, only finally to find herself placed between two stools.

I have repeatedly seen the Bavarian General Freiherr von der Tann, but have not discussed politics with him.

You will have received the last despatches through Herr von Alvensleben.

Your most faithful
Friedrich Wilhelm. K. P.

91

Prince Henry VII. of Reuss to Bismarck.

Cassel, *June* 6, '64.

Most Esteemed Chief,

I returned from Bückeburg this morning, and think you might like to hear that you have very warm friends in that little State. This was told to me in a way that leaves me no room to doubt the sincerity of the feelings. The Prince,

it is true, is regarded as being somewhat eccentric, and is very much *à cheval* on the subject of his rights and the unimpeachableness of the Bund rights; he takes the perfectly correct standpoint, however, that it is no part of the task of the smaller sovereigns to remind the great States of their existence by means of useless pin-pricks, and thus to foster in the latter the wish to see the former disappear. . . .

If you have a faithful friend in the Prince, you are regarded by his mother * as a higher being, and have become a sort of article of belief to her. She gave me special instructions to remember her to you, and to say that she would be very glad to see you again at Carlsbad.

Prince Frederick of Holstein-Glücksburg, whom I met at Bückeburg, had just returned from a conference at Cologne with his brother, the Duke. He told me they had agreed to remain quiet and on their brother the King's † account to engage in no demonstrations. Should the powers decide to give the succession in the Duchies to the Augustenburg line, they, he said, would be the first to acknowledge the decision. The brothers would then, it is true, be placed in a position to come to a "friendly" agreement with the new Duke with regard to the family estates.

With ever the same esteem, I am,

Your very faithful

H. VII. P. Reuss.

92

Prince Gortchakoff to Bismarck.

Kissingen, *July* 9, '64.

Most Esteemed Friend,

Loën has been welcome. I will do my best to have him fulfil your expectation in the capacity of telegraph-station or carrier-pigeon, although for the moment the movement of daily events is slow.

* Ida, *née* Princess of Waldeck and Pyrmont.

† Christian IX.

As to the principal lines and questions of the future which appear on a distant horizon, though it is not well to lose sight of them, I reserve them for conversation with you with the freedom which has warranted the excellent relations which have always existed between us. In the spirit of such relations I have received with peculiar pleasure, by a telegram from Oubril, a confirmation of my hope that on the occasion of our stay at Berlin you will make an appearance. Loën * has sent you the Emperor's itinerary. I shall not accompany His Majesty on the little excursions which he will make. I shall leave here the 3-15 July, so as to be in Berlin the 4-16, at the latest the 5-17, and I shall leave with His Majesty on the evening of the 7-19.

The artists of Paris and London have made us speak of many things to which neither of us have given any thought. I do not trouble myself further with this manœuvre, of which the strings are visible. After a brief contradiction we will abstain from all explication which would have the air of a justification of which we have no need.

Will you, I pray, lay my respects at His Majesty's feet. I have been very happy to learn, as usual by Oubril, that His Majesty has decided to forego the fatigues of a visit to Vienna between the two cures of Carlsbad and Gastein. It is impossible to surround with too many precautions a health so precious and the conservation of the finest chivalric character of our epoch.

I am unwilling to fatigue you with political affairs which will naturally find their place in the personal chat upon which I reckon; but I would not close without begging you to count invariably upon the sentiments of sincere attachment which I entertain toward you.

GORTCHACOFF.

* Military attaché at St. Petersburg.

93

THE DUKE OF MORNY * TO BISMARCK.

PARIS, *September* 7, '64.

MY DEAR MINISTER,

I have seen his Majesty, as I had promised you, and have related to him our conversation. The Emperor is very grateful to you for the sentiments which you have expressed to me; on his part he has altogether approved my objections. He believes that not to stir will best suit the situation of the whole world this year; after the events of all kinds which have occurred in the different countries, and the impressions which these events have caused, any step would give rise to interpretations more or less absurd and embarrassing. Tranquillity will thus be preferable.

Nevertheless, he thoroughly understands your scruples as to the impression which a conference of three would produce. He thanks you for the efforts which you make to hinder it, and should it occur in spite of you, employ such means as in your opinion would remedy the situation.

This is the *résumé* of my action, which I give you altogether in confidence and solely for yourself, delighted to have had the occasion of meeting you at Baden: although you have not given me any flowers, as the *Independence* claims, I beg you to believe in my distinguished and devoted sentiments. MORNY.

94

PRINCE HENRY VII. OF REUSS TO BISMARCK.

CASSEL, *September* 21, '64.

MOST ESTEEMED CHIEF,

I returned yesterday from my journey to Schwalbach, where I found the exalted lady† very satisfied with our

* President of the French legislative body, son of Queen Hortense and Count Flabault.

† The Empress Eugénie.

King's visit. She has a great *tendre* for him personally, and was quite touched by the *empressement* his Majesty showed in finding out where she was. This, and her reception generally in Germany, have made a very favourable impression, which it is hoped will be permanent.

The Empress's attention was less agreeably occupied with the consideration of the question whether she would go to Baden or not. The Queen has invited here there through the Duchess of Hamilton, but she could arrive at no decision, and wished first to write to the Emperor on the subject. "*Si le roi y était, j'irais certainement,*" she said to me.

As the Empress intends to prolong her "cure" into the month of October, it is not at all improbable that the King will be there before she leaves.

The reason why the Elector is not going to Berlin after all is that he fears that Czar Alexander might be unfriendly towards him. When he and his Arcadian* Prince once received the Czar at the station here, the latter treated him very coolly, and he fears the same may happen again. He will, nevertheless, greet the Czar as he passes through to-day. Everything was settled and arranged for the journey to Berlin, when the Elector was seized with this apprehension which nobody can understand.

I should be very grateful to you if I could soon have my letters of recall, and am, with the most sincere esteem,

Your very faithful
H. VII. P. Reuss.

95

General Count v. Nostitz to Bismarck.

Zobten, near Loewenberg,
Silesia, *November* 26, '64.

Your Excellency,

It will be a satisfaction to your Excellency to know that a man who has given frequent proofs of true patriotism dur-

I. e. Of unequal birth.

ing a long and momentous life heartily rejoices at the well-earned honour bestowed on you in being created a Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle, and greets you cordially as a colleague. Supported on the battle-field by his brave army, and in the Cabinet by your wise and energetic counsel, our illustrious King has restored to Prussia her former position in Europe, the firm foundation for which was laid by Frederick the Great.

The Fatherland will ever be grateful to its King, and to those who rendered him such powerful assistance, and Prussian history will make their names immortal.

With genuine esteem,

Your Excellency's sincerely devoted

COUNT V. NOSTITZ.

General of Cavalry.

96

ADOLF V. KLEIST, PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF APPEAL, TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June 7, '65.*

MOST ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I dare not interfere unrequested in this extremely delicate matter,* and least of all draw your wife into it; when, therefore, she referred to it yesterday evening I did not enter into it. I feel bound, however, to bring to your notice a letter which I have *just* received from Gerlach, and to remark that I quite agree with it and do not consider the insult *in itself* is of a nature to demand such an issue; all men of honour with whom I have discussed the affair are of the same opinion and also are of opinion that a very serious

* Bismarck had challenged Virchow to a duel with pistols for having, in the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on June 2, reproached the Minister-President with lack of veracity.

precedent would be established for all the Ministers of his Majesty the King if such affairs had to have such an issue.

With the old esteem,

Your faithfully devoted

v. Kleist.

Kindly return Gerlach's letter *without any answer;* my services in *any* capacity are, of course, at your disposal.

97

v. Natzmer to Bismarck.

Berlin, *June* 7, '65.

Esteemed Bismarck,

You will pardon me, and attribute it to the great esteem in which I hold you, if I meddle in your affairs without being asked to do so. My object is to ask permission to step into your place if an insidious bullet should prevent you from continuing the fight. The caprices of fate are inscrutable, and my excitement over your affair is so great that I cannot express it to you.

Once more I beg you to forgive my obtrusiveness, not to misconstrue my intention, and to permit me the assurance of my devotion in any eventuality.

With expressions of the highest regards,

Your

C. E. Natzmer.

98

Bismarck to Prof. Virchow.

Berlin, *June* 8, '65.

During the sitting on the 2nd inst. you personally insulted me by casting doubt upon my veracity. On the following day I requested you, through Herr v. Puttkamer,* to grant me the satisfaction to which I consider myself entitled. Your reply led me to hope that you would settle the matter with an apology, but the negotiations which have been interrupted by your absence have not produced this result.

* Bernhard v. Puttkamer, Captain in the second Guard regiment.

I am, therefore, compelled to repeat my demand for satisfaction made on the 3rd inst., and to ask you to state if you are ready to comply with my demand made to you through Herr v. Puttkamer. In this case I beg you to name one of your friends to make further arrangements respecting place and time with the Minister for War, who will be kind enough to act as my witness.

Awaiting your kind reply, I am,

Your obedient servant,

v. BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN.

99

WAR MINISTER v. ROON TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

DEAR B.,

I have just been to Virchow's and found that he had gone out at 7 o'clock. I am now going to the Chamber, where, if possible, I will execute my commission. All things considered, it seems to me that you can hardly settle the business in question in time to leave for Stralsund this evening. I will do my best, however. Your

v. ROON.

100

WAR MINISTER v. ROON TO VIRCHOW.

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

As I have endeavoured in vain yesterday evening and this morning to find you at your home, in order to execute a commission I have undertaken, I beg you to grant me a moment in the Ministers' room. I leave you to choose the most convenient moment. Faithfully yours,

v. ROON.

101

WAR MINISTER v. ROON TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

The President [of the House of Deputies] has declared, on the motion of Forckenbeck, that Virchow may not fight,

and that it is for the House alone to decide whether a Minister is insulted. I replied: "A man is the guardian of his own honour."

The discussion on the subject has been going on for three-quarters of an hour. At the present moment the lion of the tribe of Judah is roaring. The shorthand report shall be sent to you as soon as possible.

v. Roon.

My letter to Virchow cannot be delivered, as he has not returned home. I enclose it herewith.

102

Minister F. zu Eulenburg to Bismarck.
(Telegraphic despatch.)

Prenzlau, *June* 8, '65.

Send news to Stralsund immediately.

Eulenburg.

103

Bismarck to Minister F. zu Eulenburg.
(Telegraphic despatch.)

Berlin, *June* 8, '65.

Several hours' debate this morning on Forckenbeck's motion declaring duels inadmissible for deputies. No statement yet obtained from Virchow as to acceptance or refusal.

Bismarck.

104

v. Hennig to v. Keudell.

Berlin, *June* 8, '65.

I have received no further intelligence as to whether you consider that there is no longer a prospect of the difference between Herr v. Bismarck and Prof. Virchow being adjusted.

Prof. Virchow wishes to end the matter, and has charged me to inform you that he considers that he has done every-

thing possible on his part towards a settlement in expressing his readiness to make the statement desired by Bismarck on one condition, at which no offence can be taken. As no reply has as yet been received to this I am further charged to inform you that Prof. Virchow decidedly declines to fight a duel, the more so as the affair has been made public through no fault of his, and has even been discussed to-day in the Chamber of Deputies. His political friends, and also the President of the House, have imposed on him as a duty the non-acceptance of the duel.

Kindly acquaint Herr von Bismarck with this, and at the same time inform him that Prof. Virchow is ready to make the promised statement in the House, with the condition formulated by me; I would add explicitly that only the sense and not the wording of the latter is of moment to him.

Respectfully yours,

HENNIG.

105

V. KEUDELL TO WAR MINISTER V. ROON.

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to submit the enclosed for your information, and most obediently to state that I have replied to Herr von Hennig that I am no longer empowered to receive statements from Prof. Virchow. V. KEUDELL.

106

WAR MINISTER V. ROON TO BISMARCK.*

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

Herr Virchow replied by my messenger who took the letter of which you are acquainted, that he would come to me this evening between 7 and 8 o'clock. Until now, 9 o'clock,

* Affixed to v. Keudell's letter.

he has not appeared. In these circumstances I consider the affair, in view of to-day's proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies, as essentially settled. v. Roon.

107

Prof. Virchow to Gen. von Roon, Minister for War.

(Undated.—Postmark, *June* 8, '65, 9 A. M.)

Your Excellency,

I beg to reply to your favour of to-day's date that Herr v. Hennig has to-day informed Herr v. Keudell in my name:

1, that I decline the duel.

2, that I am ready to make the statement in the House desired by the Minister-President as soon as I receive the Minister-President's assurance that there was no personal insult intended to the members of the committee in his remarks on Hannibal Fischer.

As I have gone to the utmost bounds of possibility in making this concession, I should be glad if any further negotiations respecting the wording of the statement might be conducted, as heretofore, through the medium of Herr v. Hennig.

Accept the assurance of my highest esteem, with which I subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most respectful

R. Virchow.

Member of the House of Deputies.

108

War Minister v. Roon to Bismarck.*

It is sufficient in my opinion that Herr Virchow *declines the duel.* . . Further negotiations—for which I am, of

* Marginal note to Virchow's letter.

course, always at your disposal—*will lead to nothing.* There is no doubt of that, especially as Herr Virchow refuses personal negotiation with me, and interposes Hennig, who is responsible for to-day's parliamentary comedy.

v. R.

109

REGIERUNGSRATH ZITELMANN TO BISMARCK.

June 8, '65.

Virchow was in the Charité Hospital until about twelve o'clock; the red Becker * called for him there, bringing with him a letter from Hennig, and the two drove off to the House of Deputies. It is evident from this that Virchow was privy to the scene in the Chamber.

ZITELMANN.

110

REGIERUNGSRATH ZITELMANN TO BISMARCK.

June 8, '65.

Virchow told Faddel † at two o'clock that he declines the duel, and that Herr v. Hennig will write to Herr v. Puttkamer on the subject to-day.

ZITELMANN.

111

COUNT ARNIM-BOYTZENBURG TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 8, '65.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have just heard of the Virchow affair, on my return from the country. As many of your Excellency's intimate

* Hermann Becker, member of the Progressist party, afterwards Burgomaster of Cologne.

† Member of the Progressist party in the Chamber of Deputies.

acquaintances are away, I beg of you to dispose of me if I can be in any way useful; otherwise do not take up your time with replying to me.

May God be with you!

Your

COUNT ARNIM-BOYTZENBURG.

112

GENERAL COUNT NOSTITZ TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *June* 9, '65.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The sincere sympathy I feel towards you keeps me also in a state of apprehension concerning the result of the step you have taken against Herr Virchow, and excuses my indiscretion in asking you for a few confidential lines on this affair. I hope you will not refuse me this.

With true respect and esteem,

COUNT v. NOSTITZ.

113

MINISTER F. ZU EULENBURG TO BISMARCK.

STRALSUND, *June* 9, '65.

Many thanks for your telegram, my dear friend. You cannot think how anxious we were during the whole of yesterday; I was unable to swallow any food until a reassuring telegram came from Roon, and finally your own late in the evening. Do telegraph or write to me again telling me how the affair is definitely settled. I shall be at Putbus to-day and to-morrow. Everything went off well here yesterday, only the thought of you disquieted your friends.

Most cordially yours, EULENBURG.*

* Prof. Virchow made the apology, referred to above, in the Chamber of Deputies on June 17th, 1865.

114

War Minister v. Roon to Bismarck.

Berlin, *June* 18, '65,

It is stated in this morning's *National Zeitung* that the Crown Prince arrived at Potsdam yesterday from Pomerania. Do you know of this? Is it at your suggestion, on account of to-morrow's meeting of the Council?

Should you know nothing about it I will endeavour to find out by a telegraphic enquiry, though I should prefer not to do so owing to the attendant fuss. I am not at all well. Good morning! Your

v. Roon.

115

Bismarck to War Minister v. Roon.

June 18, '65.

I have just learned by telegraph that the Crown Prince is at Potsdam, where he will remain until to-morrow morning. I shall request his Royal Highness to grant me an audience after the dinner, for which I leave at 2 o'clock. Shall I say that you would like to see him, too, or are you not well enough for that? In any case I heartily wish that you will soon be better. Your

v. Bismarck.

116

Bismarck to the Crown Prince Frederick.

Carlsbad, *July* 15, '65.

Most Illustrious Crown Prince,

Your Royal Highness will gather from the enclosed extracts the essential contents of the notes which, by command of his Majesty the King, were addressed to the Vienna Cabinet on the 11th inst. and yesterday. Lack of time and an insufficient staff here render it impossible to give the courier a more complete statement of the extensive cor-

respondence which has passed during the past few days between Berlin and Vienna. The enclosure gives the resulting situation, however. In order to be prepared for all eventualities, the King's Majesty intends to direct that the funds necessary for a possible mobilisation shall be provided without contracting a loan, and at the same time to give instructions that such improvements of the military equipment as were already decided on shall be pushed forward as much as possible. In order that the requisite resolutions may be taken, a meeting of the Council will be held at Regensburg on the 21st inst., to which, by his Majesty's orders, I am to-day summoning the Ministers. His Majesty was of opinion that the distance will prevent your Royal Highness from being present; I consider, however, that I ought to inform your Royal Highness of the position of affairs as quickly as is possible without a telegram cypher. Should your Royal Highness not come to Regensburg, I beg most respectfully to be allowed to make a further report after the Council meeting, and after the interview I shall have the next day with Baron von der Pfordten. At the same time I beg to ask whether your Royal Highness will not order a cypher to be sent by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to render the telegraphic correspondence more secure. One of your Royal Highness's adjutants will no doubt understand how to use the cypher. I beg most humbly to suggest that your Majesty's commands in this matter be sent direct to Herr v. Thile. I take the liberty of most respectfully pointing out the necessity, both from a political and a financial point of view, in order to prevent a fall in the quotations of the stocks the State intends to realise, of preserving the most rigid secrecy with respect to the situation and the steps it is proposed to take.

Your Royal Highness's

Obedient servant,

v. Bismarck.

117

War Minister v. Roon to Bismarck.

Berlin, *December* 14, '65.

I was at your door, but not at your bedside, at half past twelve to-day to ask you—perhaps superfluously—not to fix any sitting of the Ministry of State, at which my presence might be desired for Friday evening or Saturday, as I wish to be out of town for thirty-six hours.

I hope your sleep was as good as it was long!

His Majesty seems inclined to withdraw two infantry regiments from Schleswig. Your

v. Roon.

118

The Marquis Wielopolski to Bismarck.

Dresden, *May* 8, '66.

Count,

Since it has been given to me to make the acquaintance of Your Excellency, I have never ceased to follow with a constant and sympathetic interest the phases of your noble and courageous career.

The news of the crime* against your person has keenly stirred me; and I hasten to assure Your Excellency of my delight in the preservation of your life, and sincerely to congratulate you.

With many others I frame the most ardent wishes that, God helping, your grand work shall be accomplished, in order to become a shelter to the true civilisation and a bulwark of social order, which anarchistic intrigues, practised by opposing factions as well in the lowest dregs of society as at its summit in the name of a blind power, cause to-day to totter upon its foundations.

Accept, Count, the assurance of my true and profound respect. The Marquis Wielopolski.

* Of May 7. Blind's.

119

THE CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CROWN PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD, A. ZU EULENBURG, TO BISMARCK.

NEW PALACE, NEAR POTSDAM, *May* 24, '66.

I am commanded by his Royal Highness the Crown Prince to express his regret that he did not see you and the Countess to-day. His Royal Highness sent me to find your Excellency, but your carriage was just leaving the Palace.

With the highest esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

A. ZU EULENBURG.

120

PRINCE FRIEDRICH KARL TO BISMARCK.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE FIRST ARMY.

GÖRLITZ, *June* 15, '66, 10 A. M.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I still do not know what decisions have been arrived at by the Government, especially whether the troops are to march into Saxony on the 16th, after war has been declared. We shall no doubt receive the necessary orders and communications to-day.

I also do not know whether we shall declare war against Bavaria as well. With respect to this point I send you these lines, which are possibly superfluous, if you yourself have already thought what I shall say.

Should we declare war against Bavaria, I consider it desirable, from a military standpoint, that we should induce Italy, which has a much superior force available against Austria, to make as strong a diversion as possible towards the Bavarian Tyrol and towards Bavaria generally.

Your Excellency's faithful servant,

FRIEDRICH KARL.

121

PRINCE FRIEDRICH KARL TO BISMARCK.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE FIRST ARMY.
GÖRLITZ, *June* 17, '66, *midday.*

MY MOST ESTEEMED COUNT,

I received your yesterday's letter this morning, and your two telegrams yesterday afternoon and evening.

The population in Saxony was extremely astonished at my entry with the troops, but was anything but hostile. It evinced the utmost willingness in the matter of billeting and of requisitions for the welfare of the troops.

We have no orders to enforce contributions, which the enemy would certainly do in our territory. I have only had some public funds confiscated.

General Count Bismarck (your cousin) will set out to-morrow with a regiment of the Blücher Hussars and of the 1st Pomeranian Lancers, for a three days' expedition towards Dresden, to circulate false reports, to take possession of public money, to affix everywhere my proclamations to the Saxons breathing peace and love, and to let Prussians be seen everywhere.

The railway to Löbau or to Bautzen will be ready by to-morrow.

I know nothing of the Austrians, except what comes from Berlin.

I am still without orders from his Majesty, but am gradually concentrating round Görlitz, so that I shall be able, from the day after to-morrow, to execute any commission that may be given me. The weather is favourable for marching.

I should be very glad if you would send me Herr von Radowitz to assist me in diplomatic matters. He considers that he can be spared from Paris now, and wishes to have this or a military appointment *under me*.[1] He could have the latter too, and I once more urgently request to have him.

I wish we could soon settle Hanover and Hesse. We know nothing here of Göben and Baier, and of Manteuffel only that he is marching *via Hamburg* into Hanover.

Your faithful friend and servant,

FRIEDRICH KARL.

My opinion is that a large number of Bavarians will oppose us *before* the end of a fortnight, probably on the southern side of the Erz-gebirge if Herwarth is energetic.

Marginal note by Bismarck:

[1] Yes.

122

PRINCE HENRY LXVII. OF REUSS, YOUNGER LINE, TO BISMARCK.

GERA, *June* 21, '66.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I must apologise for troubling you with a letter at this grievous, evil time.

As an old Prussian, and a faithful adherent of the Royal House, I would like to be sure that your Excellency has no hostile intentions towards me or my country; I am convinced that my gracious patron, his Majesty the King, has none. Your Excellency will be aware of the fact that I did not vote against Prussia in the Bundestag; it was perfectly in order that I complied with the instructions of the then existing Military Commission, and sent to Rastatt. I beg and expect, therefore, that no hostile attitude may be taken against me and my country; that is to say, that the latter may not be punished with having troops billeted upon it, etc., and that my battalion may remain quietly at Rastatt.

With the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

HEINRICH LXVII. FÜRST REUSS, J. L.

123

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

HERINGSDORF, *August* 9, '66.

The evidences of Napoleonic hunger you have sent me are most remarkable. While thanking you very much for the enclosures, I must admit that I should not have considered such unheard-of demands possible in the present circumstances. Either Napoleon does not think seriously of attaining them, or he has not told Goltz what he really intends to do or to abstain from doing.

If Napoleon persists in hankering after the whole left bank of the Rhine, we shall have every reason to be grateful to him for helping us towards the speedy union of Germany under one head. For, even if they are reluctant to do so, the Germans could in that case do nothing but join the North-German Bund. . . .

I meet my family on Sunday, the 12th, and, according to circumstances, continue the same night to Erdmannsdorf, or stay in Berlin and then go to Silesia for occasional "rest days." Your most obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

124

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

August 12, '66, 7 P. M.

The Crown Princess would be glad to see you to-day, as she resumes her journey to Silesia at 11 o'clock to-night.

If your health permits you to come to me at 8 o'clock, I shall expect you in my palace; but if you feel too done up, I will come to you.

Verbal * answer requested.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

* Twice underlined in the original.

125

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *February* 21, '67.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the memorandum on the subjects we discussed on January 31st, and am extremely pleased by the views which underlie it. I quite agree that the formation of a great state, including also South Germany, should be the aim and the guiding-star of our policy, so that everything, even the Saxon question, must be subordinated to this point of view.

I am also very pleased to find in the memorandum much that you then told me by word of mouth, although, if my memory serves me faithfully, you emphasised the necessity of national unity and the purely provisional character of the North-German Bund, etc., etc., much more strongly than appears from the memorandum.

As I know nothing reliable about the conclusion of the military convention with Saxony, except what I have seen in the Saxon newspapers, I cannot give an opinion on the subject. I can only wish that Prussia has reserved to herself an important right, permitting the King of Prussia to dispose at all times of the Royal Saxon troops equally with the Prussian army corps.

There is no denying the fact that our policy is endangered by the malevolence and ambition of France. We must face this danger boldly, but it is too great for us to provoke; I am, however, greatly reassured by the decided manner in which you expressed the desire to me on January 31st to avoid a war with France.

Permit me only to express the hope that you may succeed in bringing those principles of national policy to bear in the treatment of our relations with South Germany and with the little rulers, who are tired of their sovereignty, and also in directing the affairs of the forthcoming Reichs-

tag; all this will certainly demand much patience, and perhaps also, to use your own words, will render it necessary for us to relinquish the idea of following our own natural impulses.

With respect to the Reichstag, I regret that you found it necessary to oppose the bill for the protection of faithful reports of the debates in the Reichstag. I am looking forward with emotion to the opening day, and am firmly convinced that out of the debates of this Reichstag will proceed a definite starting-point for the destinies of our great Fatherland.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

126

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

POTSDAM, *May* 13, '67.

With best thanks for your letter of Saturday, I would mention that the King yesterday (Sunday) expressed himself against the Crown Princess's imminent journey, on the grounds that this would be a kind of *empressement* with which we ought not to honour Napoleon.

The visit, however, which *we both* were to pay, has been so long talked about that, in my opinion, it would be very marked if the Crown Princess were now to remain behind. Furthermore, we wish to conclude our stay in Paris on May 31st, so as not to meet the Russians. There has, too, always been a question of my paying a second visit, for the distribution of the prizes in July, on which occasion the Crown Princess could not accompany me, as she has been ordered to the sea-side.

I wished to communicate these points of view to you, as his Majesty intends to discuss the question with you to-day.

Your

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

127

PRINCE HENRY VII. OF REUSS TO BISMARCK.

ST. PETERSBURG, *May* 28, '67.

MOST ESTEEMED CHIEF,

I have not mentioned in my official reports the extreme interest with which the Grand-Duchess Hélène has followed the last political phase, and that she has used her utmost endeavour to exert her influence in her own peculiar way in our favour.

She was, from the beginning, under no illusion as to the anything but friendly intentions of the French Cabinet, and even to-day she has no great confidence in the peace. She has never approved of the idea of the Czar's journey,* and was only won over to it when it was decided that the two gentlemen would go at the same time. She was quite beside herself when it seemed as if the King's visit were compromised, and I believe that she encouraged the Czar in insisting so strongly on the simultaneous presence of our most gracious master. She was extremely glad, therefore, when I told her to-day that the King has decided to be in Paris on the 5th.

I will not recur to the many transformations through which Gortchakoff has passed of late; I believe I have faithfully reproduced them in my reports. I am inclined to think that he now honestly wishes that the Czar may not make his appearance in Paris without our King. He was really afraid of a coolness arising between us, and he feared this eventuality very much on account of his Oriental policy, as all the others were beginning to turn their backs on him; even Italy, with whom he had coquetted so much.

Trepoff † has just told me of the view held by the public at large on the visit; I have heard it repeatedly myself, and will not withhold it from you. There is a strong feeling

* To Paris for the Exhibition.

† Chief of the Police in St. Petersburg.

against the Czar undertaking the journey. The people argue, however, that as the King of Prussia intends to go with the Czar, and as Count Bismarck will have advised the King to do this, there can be nothing foolish in it, and hence they quite agree that the Czar should pay the visit.

With sincere esteem,

Your obedient

H. VII. P. Reuss.

128

Prince Henry VII. of Reuss to Bismarck.

St. Petersburg, *June 7, '67.*

Most Esteemed Chief,

Prince Gortchakoff desires me to express his sympathy with you in your renewed indisposition. I am to tell you from him that you should not vex yourself about the Chambers; he maintains that it is much better for a Minister when he can reply in public to the attacks made on him and his policy, than when, as is constantly his own case, he feels himself attacked in the dark without being able effectively to defend himself. With respect to our financial position, he considers it decidedly wise of us not to think of living on our capital, and were he a Prussian Minister he would not, in view of the order prevailing in our finances, and of our reserves, take the matter so much to heart.

The Prince thinks of commencing his leave at the beginning of July (new style), and will probably go to Baden to drink the Homburg waters; then he intends to rest a few weeks, and finally to undergo a grape-cure, perhaps on Lake Como. He would thus be back again here at the beginning of October.

It is rumoured here that Count Chotek is to be appointed Austrian Minister, but nothing has transpired as to who is to be sent to Vienna. Shouvaloff believes that Gortchakoff destines Waloujeff for a diplomatic post, as he fears his in-

fluence here and regards him as a possible rival. Schouvaloff would like to see Waloujeff in the aged Paul Gagarin's position, as *président du conseil*. This gentleman, although he is eighty-one years of age, has, however, such a healthy digestion, that there seems no prospect of his either retiring or dying.

With best wishes for your speedy recovery, and sincere esteem, Your obedient

H. VII. P. Reuss.

129

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Misdroy, *August* 1, '67.

Whenever I have considered that the situation in our state was serious, I have come to you to set forth my views and to hear yours. It seems to me that matters are very strained just at present, so I am writing to you in the hope that you will send me a reply.

From all that I read and *hear*, it becomes ever clearer to me that we are losing the confidence of the national party, that this is especially the case with the annexed countries, and that South Germany can feel less sympathy towards us than ever. We are losing our prestige, to which our victories in 1866 contributed, and are aiding and abetting in a most welcome manner the intrigues with which we are surrounded, and which are directed both from France and Austria as well as from Denmark.

There is increasing discontent in the country at the measures of your colleagues, Eulenburg and Lippe, which is greatly fostered by the prosecution of such men as Twesten and Lasker. You know as well as I do what these two are responsible for during the sittings of the Reichstag, and I cannot understand how we are to be benefited by adopting severe measures against such persons.

In Hanover the bitter feeling that already prevails is aggravated by the judicial measures, and also by the fact that the Queen was *allegedly* personally annoyed before her departure.

In Hesse there are loud and frequent complaints at the treatment of the question of the public funds, and at the replacement of the older officials by young Landräthe.*

In Frankfurt complaint is made of continued lack of consideration and of the excessive financial burdens laid on the town.

I am not in a position to judge how much truth or how much exaggeration there is in these reproaches. There is, however, no denying the fact that an estrangement has arisen in circles which were once devoted to us, and which lent us support; one frequently hears the remark made also that it is inexplicable why the new territories were not at once incorporated, instead of their being subjected to a year's Royal dictatorship which has now degenerated into despotism and imposes trenchant measures of all kinds, producing the very worst impression.

The prevalence of dissatisfaction in Schleswig-Holstein is as well known to you as is the frequently repeated reproach that "there is a lack of organising talent in Prussia." Finally, one often hears it said that the promise to recognise justified peculiarities has become a mere phrase; the treatment thus far has been so defective that Prussia is bringing discredit upon herself.

In matters relating to our foreign policy you are better informed than I. The French Government may have intended to soften down the despatch on Schleswig-Holstein; the said document has, however, not failed in its object to produce a disquieting effect; I cannot but return to my old theme: why did *we* not draw the frontier line?

* A Landrath is a government official placed at the head of a country district.

To revert once more to your colleagues, you must remember that since July of last year you have characterised the Ministers of the Interior and Justice as pernicious and incapable. The mischief that these Ministers have accomplished is now becoming more evident than ever, especially since the Upper House was compelled to perceive that nothing more was to be said in defence of Lippe. Can anything whatever be done with such Ministers for the welfare of the narrower and the wider Fatherland, especially when it is more than ever necessary for us to have peace at home in order to be as strong as possible against attack from outside, and we have to regain respect and confidence.

I urgently bring these important questions home to you in the conviction that, *if you wish it*, you will find a solution for them; I am ready at all times to offer you my help if you feel you need it, and am,

Your obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

130

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

MISDROY, *August 2, '67.*

My yesterday's letter had only just gone when I received from a third party a treatise written by a native Hanoverian. The clear exposition of the present situation and of the means by which abuses might be remedied bears the stamp of truth, and it is at the same time a testimony to the Prussian tendencies of a new subject. For these reasons I will lose no time in having a copy of the treatise sent to you, so that, if you think it advisable, you can communicate it to his Majesty.

Your

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

P. S. The writer has no idea that I have his treatise.

131

PRINCE CARL OF ROUMANIA TO BISMARCK.

BUCHAREST, *January* 15-27, '68.

MOST HONOURED COUNT,

I am extremely pleased to see, from the reports of Friedländer, my Cabinet Chancellor, how warmly you espouse Roumania's and my interests. I feel impelled to hasten to express to you my most hearty thanks for this, and to beg your Excellency to be convinced that I appreciate it very highly. Prussia, however, will always have in me a zealous representative of her interest in the Orient. I keep Count Keyserlingk, who always places himself at my disposal in the most obliging manner, *au courant* of all that occurs, so that he will be able to send your Excellency full reports.

I am indignant at the unauthorised indiscretions of Demetre Bratiano * in Vienna; I have sent him definite orders to keep strictly within the limits of his mission, which is to deal with the Consular jurisdiction question and Post and Patent matters. The Chamber will soon begin its work, and I look for favourable results from it under Bratiano's able direction.

With kindest regards to your Excellency, I remain,

Most honoured Count,

Your obedient

CARL.

132

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

Friday, March 6, '68.

I should be glad, if your time permits it, to see you on Saturday morning between 10 and 12 o'clock.

I propose this time, as you told me recently that you can

* Brother of Joan Bratiano, the Roumanian Minister.

now dispose of your mornings and evenings; tell me candidly, however, if it is inconvenient for you, as I would then like to fix our interview for next week.

I shall come to you in your house.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

133

PRESIDENT SIMSON TO BISMARCK.

FRANKFURT-ON-THE-ODER, *January* 31, '69.

MOST HONOURED FEDERAL CHANCELLOR AND MINISTER-PRESIDENT,

The King's Majesty has been graciously pleased, as I have just been informed by a telegram from the Minister for Justice, to appoint me first President of the Court of Appeals here.

I know quite well to whom and to whom alone I owe this promotion, which crowns my official career in a manner affording me the most intense satisfaction. In deciding to propose me for this important position, your Excellency must have exerted great forbearance in many points, and have magnanimously forgotten very much.

The feeling of deep gratitude which your Excellency has imposed on me, and which I bear gladly, becomes only all the more inextinguishable in me. My hope is that I may still be permitted to co-operate—however modestly—in the great plans which fill your soul, and of the partial realisation of which we have already been admiring and astonished witnesses.

With every good wish for your Excellency, and trusting that you may be pleased to continue your favour towards me, I am, in deep respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

PRESIDENT SIMSON.

134

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

February 25, '69.

I understand that serious consideration is being given to the question of transferring Münchhausen from the post of Ober-Präsident of Pomerania to that of Ober-Präsident of East Prussia.

Considering the special relations in which I stand to the Province of Pomerania, you will not take it amiss if I express the wish that this project may not be carried into effect.

During the two years of his administration of his present office Münchhausen has succeeded, by his tactful and conciliatory attitude, in removing many unpleasantnesses, and in introducing a spirit of reconciliation among the parties.

Now that he has made himself thoroughly acquainted with the business affairs and internal conditions of the Province, it would be eminently desirable for Münchhausen to have the opportunity of devoting his energies for a series of years entirely to that part of the country which he has studied so carefully, and where he feels so much at home.

I have communicated these arguments to his Majesty, who recognised their force, and empowered me to inform you of my wishes.

I would mention, in conclusion, that in all probability my army corps will be reviewed by the King this autumn, so that the presence of the Ober-Präsident *who is familiar with the existing conditions* is a matter of urgent necessity.

I therefore herewith recommend to your serious consideration the advisability of keeping Münchhausen in Pomerania.

Your most obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

Statthalter and General in Command in Pomerania.

135

COUNT A. EULENBURG, CHAMBERLAIN IN THE CROWN PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD, TO BISMARCK.

HEADQUARTERS, SCHÖNEBERG, *September* 10, '69.
8.45 P. M.

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince regrets extremely that he missed your Excellency to-day, and particularly wishes to speak to you during the manœuvres to-morrow.

His Royal Highness quite agrees to the tour *via* Vienna, but has serious objections to Rome.

In the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient
A. EULENBURG.

136

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

KÖNIGSBERG, *September* 15, '69.

The preliminaries for the journey are being conducted most satisfactorily, since, with his Majesty's consent, I sent for Admiral Jachmann to discuss and arrange everything with me verbally. I have also telegraphed to Balan to announce my arrival in Constantinople in the middle of October. Notice has not yet been sent to Vienna and Cairo, and I wish to ask you if it would not be advisable first to enquire in the former city, quite confidentially, whether my visit will be agreeable, and, *eventualiter*, where the Court will be in residence at the beginning of October.

According to present arrangements, I start on my journey on October 5th, so as not to leave too little time for Turkey and Palestine before I arrive in Egypt for the opening of the Suez Canal, which is fixed for November 17th.

You referred at Pansin to some probable diplomatic changes, but did not mention a definite candidate for Con-

stantinople. As it will be necessary to have a *Chargé d'Affaires* there, during my visit, who is acquainted with the Orient, I should like to propose Count Keyserlingk, now at Bucharest, who has already done long and good service in the Orient. Perhaps the absence of the Prince of Roumania will render it easier for Keyserlingk to undertake this mission.

In conclusion I wish to say a word to you from here in favour of Ober-Präsident von Horn. The most vehement complaints are raised against him by a section of the great land-owners, and all kinds of things are said of him. I have been able personally to convince myself, however, that the animosity against him is really unjustified, and that he has rendered much valuable service to the Province. Should his adversaries succeed in bringing about his fall, a very useful official would be lost, who, though he may possess many faults of form, will certainly be a blessing to this Province. I herewith, therefore, recommend him warmly to you.

I am,

Your obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

137

COUNT PÜCKLER, LORD CHAMBERLAIN, TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *September* 28, '69.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I hasten, in reply to your favour, to inform you that his Majesty the King has yielded to the urgent wishes of the Ministers, and will return to Berlin on the 6th, in order to open the Landtag in person.

Why the Ministers have altered their plans, for even Minister von der Heydt had advised his Majesty not to come to Berlin for the appproaching opening of the Land-

tag, I have not been able to ascertain, as each of the gentlemen advances a different reason.

In any case his Majesty intends to return to Baden for a few weeks immediately after the opening.

I am very glad that the Queen also is charmed with your Excellency; a few insignificant attentions would suffice to maintain these good terms.

Her Majesty the Queen does not at all like Count Beust.

The King has decided to-day that, besides General von Stosch, Count Lehndorff shall accompany the Crown Prince on his journey.* The Crown Prince proposes to leave on the 3rd, so as to take farewell of the Queen at Baden.

With best wishes for your well-being, I am,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

PÜCKLER.

138

PRINCE CARL OF ROUMANIA TO BISMARCK.

WEINBURG, *October 22, '69.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I am seeking you out in your rural stillness in order to announce to you my approaching marriage with the Princess zu Wied. As I know what a great interest your Excellency takes in my fate, and in that of my country, I am convinced that I shall have your good wishes for this marriage; the bearing of the latter on my life will be all the greater as I am following only the impulse of my heart, and my decision has been in no way influenced by political considerations.

* To Egypt.

While I was away I heard of the appointment of Count Keyserlingk as Minister in Constantinople. Although I regret that I thereby lose a faithful adviser, I am glad to be able to regard the Count's promotion as a recognition of his work at Bucharest; I hope that in his more influential position at Constantinople he will continue to cherish loyal feelings towards me, so that, should occasion require it, he may do what is possible towards supporting and furthering my interests there.

With respect to the post that is now vacant at Bucharest, I should be very glad if circumstances should permit of its being filled by someone with whom I am already acquainted. I beg, therefore, to mention Herr von Radowitz to your Excellency as being a man whom I believe to be eminently qualified to represent the Prussian Government worthily in Bucharest, and whose character especially fits him to maintain the most friendly relations between the government of his Majesty the King and my own.

With sincerest wishes for the complete restoration of your Excellency's health, I remain,

Your Excellency's obedient

CARL.

139

SECRETARY OF STATE v. THILE TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *July* 8, '70.

HONOURED CHIEF,

Benedetti, who told me as he was starting for Wildbad (before the Spanish bomb exploded) that he was going to stay at Coblenz only *one day "pour se rendre à une ancienne invitation de la Reine,"* seems, according to the newspapers, to be extending his visit there. His intention is evident.

Obediently and faithfully,

V. THILE.

140

PRINCE HENRY VII. OF REUSS TO BISMARCK.

MOST HONOURED CHIEF, ST. PETERSBURG, *January*, '71.

In accordance with your telegraphic instructions I have to-day presented your congratulations to his Majesty the Czar and to the Grand-Duchess Hélène. His Majesty directed me to thank you. The Grand-Duchess answered me with a most friendly letter, which I enclose, as you will be glad to read in her own hand the expression of her feelings. She is still exactly the same. She understands why we are carrying on war, and knows that we cannot break off the fight like a play at the theatre. She takes no part, therefore, in all the sickly whining which is the fashion now among the ladies here who follow the example set by her Majesty.

Although the Czar would like to see peace restored he does not let himself be infected by these wailing women, and is correct. He is still under the influence of the sad impression caused by an accident which happened while he was bear-hunting a few days ago. Scariatin, the chief huntsman, was shot, through his own carelessness, before the Czar's eyes. He was creeping through the underwood after a bear that had been hit, and the trigger of his rifle evidently caught in a twig. The Czar was beside himself, and the episode has made him very sad.

From my whole heart I wish you good health in the new year, and that you will soon place your name under a glorious peace.

With most sincere esteem,

Your very faithful

H. VII. P. REUSS.

141

GEN. V. ROON, MINISTER FOR WAR, TO BISMARCK.

GÜTERGEOTZ, *July* 3, '72.

I cannot let the long official letter, with which I threatened you on the 18th ultimo, and which I fling, and indeed am

compelled to fling, to-day into your Tusculum, go without most humbly begging your forgiveness for this outrage on your rest and your pleasure. I cannot, however, resist the necessity which drives me to it. The affair is a serious matter for me, a very serious matter, and perhaps also a little serious for you, my illustrious old friend. And as, thanks to your kindliness, I may call you this, you will also not refuse my request for two words of dictated reply; I need them to authenticate myself. You will understand me when I tell you that a copy of my official letter has gone to Ems. . .

And now my cordial greeting! You will know how warm and sincere my wishes are and must be for your recovery.

The crazy Böger insists on my going to Marienbad in about ten days' time; he has driven my wife there already. I shall certainly not get any younger there, but perhaps not much older.

May God be with you and yours! I kiss the Princess's hand in deepest and warmest veneration. May you all return fresh and invigorated to the old rack! For, if God wills, you must endure it for a time yet, until another is found whom your left-off shoes fit to some extent.

Your cordially devoted, old

ROON.

142

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *November* 15, '72.

DEAR PRINCE,

I cannot quit Berlin without expressing to you my regret at not having been able to clasp your hand, and above all at the cause which made your absence necessary. All my wishes are for a speedy re-establishment of your health. No one, in private or in public life, fails to recognise its value. I do not wish to be indiscreet enough to fatigue

you; but I should not have fulfilled the wish of my heart did I not recall by a few lines your kind remembrance and renew the expression of the invariable sentiments which I have always borne toward you.

Permit me to lay my homage at the feet of the Princess, and believe me ever yours, GORTSCHAKOFF.

143

BISMARCK TO PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

VARZIN, *November* 20, '72.

DEAR PRINCE,

I thank you with all my heart for having thought of me in passing through Berlin. Among the privations which the state of my health imposes, that of not having been able to clasp your hand on your journey is one of the most keen. I have formed many official relations during my life; but that with you, my dear Prince, is the only one which my heart would desire to continue after the cessation of official relations, and if God should give us a period of repose before death I should be very happy to spend it with you as neighbour in the country. Pardon this ebullition of German sentimentality, for it is sincere; you are the only statesman in Europe with whom I can look back over twenty years of business without recollecting a moment of bitterness. There has not always been community of interests; but always gentlemanly uprightness and goodwill. It is only in the position of a Minister overburdened with affairs that I have learned to appreciate all the kindnesses and all the indulgences which you have shown me while I was at Petersburg, and among my defects I do not reckon that of ingratitude.

My health compels me always to hold myself aloof from affairs, but I am convinced that I could re-enter if only my colleagues would leave me two months of repose without

interruption. I always hope that the King would be willing to agree to my request to be relieved definitively from participation in the interior affairs of Prussia, and to restrict my occupations to the administration of foreign affairs and those of the German Empire. Interior affairs are those which use up my strength, because they impose upon me a responsibility without other authority than that of prayer and persuasion. v. BISMARCK.

144

COUNT H. v. ARNIM, GERMAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS, TO BISMARCK.

PARIS, *January* 17, '73.

Dr. Evans has informed me that his suspicions that Count Cavour was poisoned by means of a cigar have now been positively confirmed.

Some remarks which he has overheard lead him to believe also that certain fanatics of his religion—Evans is a Catholic—are not disinclined to perform the same operation on your Excellency. He urged me, therefore, to warn your Excellency.

The expression which he overheard, he added, left him in no doubt that there are persons who would use your Excellency's "pet habit" to bring about your death. "Does Prince Bismarck smoke much?" * he asked me. On my replying the affirmative, he said that he was now quite sure that the Cavour cigar was to play a rôle. I remarked *incidenter* that poisoned cigars played a rôle in Lisbon in the year 1872, when so many members of the Royal family died.

To me the thing seems improbable. It would not be a very difficult matter, however, to present you with a box of poisoned cigars, especially if the donor does not shrink from causing the death of several other persons at the same time.

* Given in English in the original.

Dr. Evans seemed to be fully convinced that his apprehensions were well founded, and for that reason I felt that I ought to mention the matter. ARNIM.

145

MINISTER B. v. BÜLOW TO BISMARCK.

KLEIN FLOTTBECK, *June* 29, '73.

MOST HONOURED PRINCE,

With cordial thanks for the time allowed me for consideration, I can now inform your Excellency that I am prepared to accept your honourable proposal as soon as my resignation has been accepted by the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg. I will not again refer to the scruples which I entertain in respect of mistrust in my powers, and of so many other considerations; after conscientious reflection I find most consolation in the fact that your Excellency is acquainted with these scruples, and, much as I am wanting in so many respects, I know the value of your Excellency's confidence in me, and can appreciate the honour of serving the Emperor and the Empire under your direction and in such a position.

May I request to be informed when I must ask to be relieved from my present post, and whether, when making this application, I shall refer to the proposal that has been made to me.

I should be glad to know when I am to enter on my duties, and what my program for the next few months is; my own plan was to go from here to Marienbad, and in view of an arduous future, this is almost a necessity. I beg only to add that some freedom would be a gratefully acceptable present, though, of course, I am at your Excellency's disposal.

Accept the expression of my faithful devotion and esteem, in which I am,

Your Excellency's most obedient

B. BÜLOW.

146

PRINCE CARL OF ROUMANIA TO BISMARCK.

BAD IMNAU, *July 26, '73.*

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

I could not visit the Hohenzollern countries without thinking of the man who has guided Germany to unity and to hitherto unknown greatness. These feelings could not stir me without, at the same time, producing the wish to greet your Excellency on this journey, and to give personal expression to my esteem for you. I believe that, as Prince of Roumania, I have not disowned the qualities of a German Prince, and would esteem myself fortunate if I could discuss with your Excellency the state of affairs on the Lower Danube. The influence of Germany's power has, thanks to your Excellency's policy, attained a periphery extending far beyond the Roumanian frontiers, so that the conditions existing in Roumania cannot but be of special interest to your Excellency.

With expressions of the highest esteem, I am,

Your Excellency's most obedient

CARL.

Marginal notes by Bismarck:

Where is Imnau?

How long is the Prince staying in Germany, and where?

I.

(Enclosures.)

REPORT MOST OBEDIENTLY:

Bad Imnau is in Hohenzollern-Hechingen, is a posting station, nearest railway station Eyach.

Prince Carl remains, according to information given by

his brother, Prince Frederick of Hohenzollern, for another fortnight, or three weeks, at Imnau, and then intends to return to Bucharest. RADOWITZ.

August 4, '73.

Remark in Bismarck's handwriting:

Please discover, if possible, what the Prince's object is,* whether he expects me to go to Imnau, which is impossible, whether he will do me the honour of calling on me here, or whether he reckons on seeing me in Berlin on September 2.

v. B.

II.

REPORT MOST OBEDIENTLY:

Prince Carl of Roumania left yesterday, August 10th, for Sigmaringen, where he will stay until the 21st inst. The Prince will commence his return journey to Roumania on the 25th from Vienna; it was *not* his intention to come to Berlin. According to the newspapers, the Prince thought he might perhaps meet your Excellency in Vienna † during this time. RADOWITZ.

August 11, '73.

Remark in Bismarck's handwriting:

Please drop a reply with suitable phrases and regrets, that the state of my health keeps me here.

147

WAR MINISTER VON ROON TO BISMARCK.

NEUHOF, near OESLAU, (COBURG) *October* 12, '73.

A few days ago I addressed to his Majesty a request to be relieved of the public offices entrusted to me, and I now turn to you, my dear Prince, in the name of our old friend-

* Prince Carl intended to ask Bismarck's advice with regard to his proposed declaration of independence.

† The International Exhibition was then open.

ship, to beg you most earnestly to do your utmost to further my request. I have quite exhausted my scanty abilities for public service, and have therefore firmly resolved on retirement; my sense of honour will not permit me to continue to appear what I cannot be, or at least cannot be *any longer;* it would be an offence against duty and conscience if I continued to enjoy all the honours and privileges of my position knowing that I am totally incapacitated, at least for any official position that demands from the holder of it a regular and constant activity, and not merely occasional impromptus or a casual, rhapsodical effort. I have also arrived at the conclusion—perhaps too late—that I can be easily dispensed with, and this conviction is too strong in me to be ignored.

My decision will surprise nobody, and least of all you, my esteemed friend, who for years past have been able to observe my increasing infirmity for which my seventy-one years and the last fourteen years of my life sufficiently account.

I have begged his Majesty to appoint Gen. von Kameke Minister for War in my place, as the present method of administering the office must, in the long run, become intolerable to him, and no provisional arrangement could be of long duration. At the same time I also urgently requested to be relieved of the Premiership, my holding of which has likewise been from the beginning a provisional arrangement. I quite see that it may be expedient for political reasons that the Ministry should undergo no change *before* the elections. But—and even if on this account my name must still figure for a short time in the Ministry of State—I am utterly incapable of resuming the duties of office, and therefore begged his Majesty to permit me to extend my leave of absence, in order that I may follow the doctor's advice to spend the winter in the south.

His Majesty may perhaps regard my decisions as sufficiently weighty and confer with you on the subject; in that case I appeal to your friendship to urge my standpoint of *non possum*, as I should not like either to anger or to vex the master, but attach the greatest importance to the retention of his gracious feelings towards me. If his Majesty should command such an inconsistency as that an old servant *must* continue to serve even when, as is the case with me, he *cannot* do so—I will, of course, tender my very last breath; there would not, however, be any great object in this.

In concluding this letter, which you must not regard as official, as it is *par excellence* private and friendly, you will permit me again to give you from a full heart my "*Adelante adelantador atrevido*," and to implore God's blessing on your further beneficial and noble work; and this I will continue to do until the end of my life, which is perhaps not so very far distant, whether my place happens to be on the stage or among the spectators.

Your ever faithful

v. Roon.

148

Prince Gortchakoff to Bismarck.*

(Telegram.)

Berlin, *November* 10, '73.

To the Chancellor,
Prince Bismarck,
Varzin.

Regret that health and the season prevent me from coming to Varzin. If yours permits, should be glad to meet you at Dirschau. Could be there Thursday morning. Kindly telegraph to me if this is convenient to you. Should unforeseen delay arise, would let you know in time by telegraph.

Gortchakoff.

*Translated from the original French.

149

BISMARCK TO PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.*
(Telegram.)

VARZIN, *November* 10, '73.

TO THE CHANCELLOR,
PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF,
BERLIN.

A sore throat which is fairly painful and which, according to the doctor, is somewhat suspicious, has kept me indoors for the past ten days. To my great regret I am at present unable to travel, and cannot greet you *en route*.

V. BISMARCK.

150

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF TO BISMARCK.*
(Telegram.)

BERLIN, *November* 11, '73.

TO THE CHANCELLOR,
PRINCE BISMARCK,
VARZIN.

I am sorry to lose the opportunity of seeing you, but am convinced that we shall continue to understand each other, even at a distance. The most essential thing is that a health so valuable to the state and to your friends should be exposed to no risk. I leave Berlin to-morrow evening. Kindly tender my sincere regards to the Princess.

GORTCHAKOFF.

151

KING ALBERT OF SAXONY TO BISMARCK.

DRESDEN, *November* 19, '73.

HONOURED PRINCE,

The friendship which you have shown towards me ever since we became acquainted with each other, but especially

* Translated from the original French.

during the time when it was granted to me to assist, though only in the quality of an inferior foreman, in the work of our time, the newly-established German Empire, draws me to you at the most important period of my life—my assumption of the Government.

In this difficult situation, which is rendered more difficult by my succeeding a King who not only enjoyed the love of his people, but exerted a far-reaching beneficent influence, I am in need of support and especially of good counsel. What could I do better than turn to the Chancellor of the German Empire, who has so often stated that he belongs equally to all the Federal Princes? I turn to you, therefore, whenever I require help and whenever I need wise advice. Be assured, on the other hand, that I shall support, with all my slender means, everything that you undertake for the weal of the Empire and of the German people, and I hope to be an efficacious member, a firm supporter of the structure, in the erection of which I was permitted to help with my sword.

While requesting that you will not take this letter amiss, which perhaps disturbs you in your Tusculum, I remain,

Your obedient

ALBERT, K. v. SACHSEN.

152

BERNHARD ERNST VON BÜLOW, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *July* 14, '74.

Your Excellency will, I trust, permit me to comply with the wish of the Foreign Office officials to offer their sincere and respectful congratulations on your Excellency's deliverance from such imminent danger. The sympathetic

agitation aroused by the news among all connected with the Foreign Office was great and universal; it was most marked in the case of the old house-servants. The more I learn of the details the more clearly it appears to me that this time again the hand of God has ruled over your precious life; this is a blessed foreboding of all that God has yet in store for your Excellency to accomplish and to attain.

I am exceedingly glad that it was I who received the communications from Kissingen, and that I could at once do in Berlin everything that was necessary. The despatch referring to the measures against Pastor Hauthaler was also at once communicated further, and the reply came early this morning that everything was attended to in Vienna by nine o'clock.

The general impression here is the desired and the right one; no one doubts but that the open and well-circulated incitations of the Ultramontanes have placed the weapon in the murderer's hand. The newspapers have not yet been able to express an opinion. The enclosed English press comment will be welcome to your Excellency, (to-day's *National Zeitung* has no word on the subject, although the London morning papers have already given their opinion).

I had quite a definite presentiment that something like this was going to happen, and, with Herr von Wertheim and Herr von Madai, took certain steps—but what is the use of precautionary measures when the right assistance does not come from above! About a fortnight ago I got Councillor (of Legislation) Aegidi to make a collection of expressions relating to your Excellency's end which have appeared in the *Germania*:* how much more of this sort of thing, which they dare not print, will have been whispered and preached. I have just said to the Ministers in this connection that for a certain class of Catholic priests

* The Berlin organ of the Catholic party.

the way from the event which is well-pleasing to God to the work which is well-pleasing to God and to the instigation to the same has never been a long one.

The Vice-President [of the Ministry of State] intends to report to your Excellency on the sitting of the Ministry of State, which, I may mention, is to be resumed to-morrow; I will therefore only remark that Count Eulenburg's representative made a sorry picture of apathy and helplessness, that Herr Camphausen* and Herr Friedberg† spoke well and practically, and Herr Falk‡ in somewhat too legal language; the general impression was that the result of this infamous deed will be a decided defeat for the Ultramontanes. Herr Tessendorf, who is fortunately available, will make a good impression on your Excellency and be of use. Herr Friedberg stated twice, and without meeting with contradiction, that his courageous and successful procedure against the Socialist associations in Berlin had met with only obstruction on the part of the Ministry of the Interior.

The majority of the members of the diplomatic corps have been here to offer their congratulations, in some cases also in the names of their governments.

May I add how much my wife and I feel for the Princess, and how much we hope that, in spite of everything, and in spite of your enemies, your Excellency will continue the "cure" with success. That a German allowed himself to be misled into committing the outrage is a stain on our history; that God so ordered it will be also political good-fortune.

With the old esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient,

B. Bülow.

* Minister of Finance.
† Minister of Justice.
‡ Minister of Public Instruction.

153

PRINCE ALBRECHT OF PRUSSIA TO BISMARCK.

HANOVER, *April* 1, '75.

Your Excellency will, I trust, permit me to offer my congratulations on your completing your sixtieth year, and on the many and great things which your life, and especially the last ten or twelve years of the same, contains. My congratulations take the form of a wish that it may be granted to your Excellency to see the work which you have completed develop into grandeur, and with the help of God to carry out what you have begun to the welfare and to the advantage of Prussia, of Germany, indeed to the whole of Christendom and civilised mankind. What Prussia conquers Germany gains—has hitherto been the word. What Germany acquires, benefits all Christendom—is the word now. May your Excellency long further us in this path.

ALBRECHT, PRINZ VON PREUSSEN.

154

H. VON MITTNACHT, PRESIDENT OF THE WURTEMBURG MINISTRY OF STATE, TO BISMARCK.

STUTTGART, *June* 7, '75.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Will your Excellency kindly permit me to write directly and privately on a subject which I do not wish to moot to my colleagues in the diplomatic committee of the Federal Council without your Excellency's previous knowledge?

The fact that, whereas apprehensions of an imminent war have disturbed Europe in such a strange manner of late, the German Federal Governments have had to depend on unreliable newspaper reports for their knowledge of the existence, cause, and import of a crisis, should fully justify the representatives of the Governments in considering the

question whether such a state of things is not in need of and capable of improvement, and whether they are not competent and in duty bound to set this matter in motion.

Germany places the utmost confidence, an unprecedented confidence, in his Majesty the Emperor's representation of the rights and privileges of the Empire, and in the conduct of the German policy by your Excellency's firm and fortunate hand. It is true that the assent of the Federal Council is necessary before war can be declared in the name of the Empire when the territory of the latter is not threatened with attack, and that in evident connection with this there exists a special committee for foreign affairs in the Federal Council.

This committee is not entitled to take any part in the conduct of foreign affairs, and communications respecting complications or negotiations cannot always and in their every stage be made to it. In view, however, of the obvious impossibility of keeping all the Federal Governments informed, by correspondence or through diplomatic agents, on the subject of the foreign policy of the Empire—and especially at times when complications arise—that committee might perhaps be regarded as an efficient means towards the attainment of the object I have in my mind. That is to say, all suitable communications might be made to those representatives of the Governments that have a seat and a vote in the committee, and opportunity might be given to such representatives to state their views at times when the destinies of the nation have to be decided. It is only when the Governments receive prompt information, which they cannot obtain otherwise owing to the restrictions that have been placed on their own diplomatic relations, respecting the development of complications which arise, that the Federal Council can make effective use of its vote on war or peace. It is only in that case that the responsibility falls on all, and not alone on the initiated controllers

of the policy. At your Excellency's call the Ministers of the Governments represented in the committee would themselves certainly hasten to take their places in the latter, and the peculiar circumstance that Prussia is not actually a member of the committee would not stand in the way of a proper treatment of the matters laid before it.

I do not know whether your Excellency considers the present a suitable moment for bringing up this subject, whether your Excellency regards the idea as feasible, and places the necessary confidence in the persons affected. I have ventured thus to broach the topic, as I know from experience that your Excellency is always ready to listen to and always favourably disposed towards the wishes and everything affecting the interests of the Federal Governments.

With the assurance, etc.,

MITTNACHT.

155

BISMARCK TO HERR VON MITTNACHT.

VARZIN, *June* 16, '75.

MOST ESTEEMED COLLEAGUE,

Your favour of the 7th instant affords me a welcome opportunity to express my views, which I would have done by return of post had not medical considerations prevented me. I regard your letter as an expression of friendly confidence towards the Empire, and regret that such has not been given from other quarters as well. The German Empire can successfully pursue no policy that is not recognised as the right one by the predominant factors in the interior—the Federal Council and the Reichstag. In order to keep these latter in a position to form a judgment on the policy, it is necessary that there should be constant feeling on the part of the nation represented by them with the Imperial policy, and, in so far as a documentary ground-

work is unavailable, this feeling is wrongly influenced by the publicists. In this respect the Imperial policy does not meet with the trustworthy support which the Governments of other countries can, as a rule, rely on in matters concerning their foreign relations.

During the last few months, in which an attempt has been made by all the opponents of the Empire in and out of Germany to give a false impression of the European situation, I have repeatedly been tempted to make a statement in the Prussian Landtag, which was then sitting, showing the real situation and the probable origin of the misrepresentation of the same. In this perfectly authentic way I should have put a spoke in the wheels of our lying opponents. I have refrained from doing this, as I did not wish to set an example in Prussia which every Minister of a Federal state might then have considered himself justified in following with regard to his Landtag. I should have been glad if I had then been interpellated from one of the quarters which have an influential voice in the latest development of German politics; I could then have shown the true state of affairs in my reply. The diplomatic committee of the Federal Council is a constitutional and, in my opinion, when its relations to the Imperial executive are rightly adjusted, also an extremely useful institution in the Empire. If I had the right to summon it, I should certainly have exercised this right four or six weeks ago. I do not mean to say that I should have anticipated the results of co-operation with the committee, constituted as it is at present, to be such as might, in my opinion, have been attained with an analogous institution that had undergone some reforms. I can only say that, in making responsible decisions in important questions, I would gladly, before submitting the matter to his Majesty the Emperor, avail myself of the expert advice of friendly statesmen, and that I feel the need of the testimony of the latter when there is

a question of counteracting misrepresentations publicly circulated on the authority of the adversaries of the Empire and of correspondents working solely for their own gains or in the service of individual diplomats. I should be able to give your Excellency and your colleagues in the Empire fuller information verbally and also to prove how far removed his Majesty the Emperor is from every temptation to pursue a foreign policy which does not comply with the peaceable interests of the Empire and also with the intentions of all the high Imperial confederates. I shall at all times be ready, with the consent of his Majesty the Emperor, unhesitatingly to discuss freely the aims and measures of the Imperial policy, if this can be done with the *leading ministers* of the sovereigns represented in the diplomatic committee; the only question would be that of bringing about the meeting. I would gladly consider any suggestions for modifying the existing diplomatic committee in such a way that it might further this object, especially if they came at first confidentially to me from your Excellency or from such a well-represented government as that of Wurtemberg or through their Ministers in residence. In any case I am officially and personally grateful to your Excellency for broaching in such a friendly manner a subject of such importance to the development of the Empire's institutions.

With the assurance, etc.,

v. Bismarck.

156

Bismarck to the Marchese di Visconti Venosta.

Varzin, *October* 13, '75.

To his Excellency, Monsieur Visconti Venosta, His Majesty the King of Italy's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Monsieur le Ministre,

It grieved me sorely that I was compelled to forego the

honour of accompanying his Majesty the Emperor and King, but my doctor, whom I sent for from Berlin in the hopes of finding in his advice the encouragement refused me by his colleagues here, is also of the latter's opinion that the present state of my health renders such a journey impossible for me, and I have no choice but to submit to his decision. It is with deep regret that I relinquish the hope, cherished to the last moment, of accompanying my august master, of paying my respects to his Majesty the King, of renewing the political and personal relations with your Excellency, and of seeing your beautiful country once again. Desiring as I do to cultivate the friendly relations which exist between Germany and Italy, and the maintenance of which is a matter of such import to the two countries, it was with difficulty that I was prevailed upon to abandon the prospect of an interview with your Excellency.

I beg of you to be the interpreter of my sentiments to H. M. the King, and am,

Your obedient servant,

v. Bismarck.

157

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

December 5, '75.

The Crown Princess and I beg you to tell your daughter in our names, that we sympathise with her most deeply in the pain which is caused her by the unexpected and sudden death of her intended husband.*

The terrible reality of such a loss, after anxious weeks of alternating despair and hope, comes as a truly cruel blow to the young fiancée!

We also think of you and the Princess with sincere sym-

* Count Wendt zu Eulenburg.

pathy, and can well imagine what your feelings must be, now that such glad hopes for the welfare of your beloved only daughter are shattered.

The great Christian festival which we are approaching will find your two households in the deepest mourning; may you, however, all receive *that* strength to bear your cross which brings the only true light into afflicted souls!

Your most obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

158

PRINCE CHLODWIG ZU HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK.

Imperial German Embassy
in France.

PARIS, *January* 1, '76.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

The report is current in Ultramontane circles, and has even found its way into a few newspapers, that I have expressed myself as being decidedly opposed to the so-called Arnim clause in the Penal Code. I attach too great a value to the confidence with which your Excellency is kind enough to honour me to run the risk of its being shaken by malevolent rumours. I beg, therefore, to state that this story is a pure invention.

I regard the clause in question with the utmost equanimity; were this not the case I should have taken the liberty of placing my views before your Excellency myself. I know and appreciate the motives which have led your Excellency to introduce the said bill. I am in no way affected by its provisions relating to Foreign Office officials, for I am always guided by the principle that an Ambassador can remain in office only as long as he retains the confidence of the Emperor and of the leading statesman.

This statement is perhaps superfluous. It will, however, prove to your Excellency how great is the value I attach to

the favour you have always shown towards me. I beg that the same may be continued to me in the future, and conclude by offering to your Excellency my cordial New Year's wishes. May God give you strength and energy to administer your difficult office for a long time to come, to the welfare of the Emperor and the Empire!

Your Excellency's most obedient
C. F. v. Hohenlohe.

159

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Berlin, *January* 5, '76.

I have had a long discussion to-day with Prof. Dr. Geffcken, of Strassburg, on his book "Church and State," with which you will be acquainted. The views he expressed would, I feel sure, interest you, as Geffcken is a man who reflects deeply and who has gathered a vast experience; I should like, therefore, to draw your attention to him, in case you wish to receive him.

Your very obedient
Friedrich Wilhelm. K. P.

160

Bismarck to the Crown Prince Frederick.

Berlin, *January* 8, '76.

Actuated by your Imperial Highness's gracious letter I have had a compilation made of some of the notices on Dr. Geffcken contained in the Foreign Office records, and this I beg to enclose with No. 187 of last year's *National Zeitung*.

Dr. Geffcken belongs to that section of the Evangelical Church which, like President von Gerlach and a few other Protestants, is associated with the Centre party and the Jesuits, and which has opposed and still opposes every phase of development of the German Empire. When the negotiations were suggested last summer Dr. Geffcken was

mentioned to me by the Ultramontanes as being the man who had been chosen to represent the Ultramontane wishes and interests. I can give a fairly dispassionate judgment on his book, as I am not responsible for the special purport of the May laws, though I do not imply by this that I find fault with them; I took no part at that time in the work of the Prussian Ministry, and was also neither Minister for Public Instruction nor President of the Ministry. I can, therefore, all the more impartially state that Dr. Geffcken's book is characterised by men competent to give an opinion as a shallow compilation, and that his criticism of the Falk laws is a testimony to his presumption, but not to a searching examination of the matter.

I proposed Herr Geffcken, at his wish, for the professorship at Strassburg, in the firm belief that he was honourably bent on *scientific* work, and that his Augustenburg and Hanseatic particularism was propitiated by the establishment of the Empire.

I hear with regret that I was mistaken in this, and that even at such a sore place as Alsace he pursues a policy of animosity to the Imperial interests.

All this would not restrain me from seeing him, as I do so many of my opponents, if I did not fight shy of an interview with him *without witnesses*, and if I were not afraid that any intercourse with this tool of confessional intrigues must awaken the distrust of public opinion and especially that of my colleagues against me.

v. Bismarck.

161

The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Berlin, *January* 12, '76.

I thank you for informing me of the reasons which induced you not to receive Prof. Dr. Geffcken, and for the

notices from the Foreign Office records enclosed with your letter. I confess that I should not have suggested your seeing my former fellow-student at Bonn University if I had known what opinions you hold with regard to him. During my long, though frequently interrupted intercourse with Dr. Geffcken I have never observed in him either a leaning towards Catholicism or a deeply-rooted antagonism to Prussia. On the contrary, the impression made on me by his entire attitude and by his frequent public and private statements is that there can be as little question of his zealous Protestant feelings as of his patriotism, although his propensity for adverse criticism seemed from time to time to expose him to the danger of being included, against his will, among the enemies of the Imperial Government.

For this reason I could not but believe that it might be of interest to you to learn the views, on an exceedingly important question which claims your almost daily attention, of a man whom I knew, it is true, to be an opponent of our present Church policy, whose opinions in this matter I, too, was by no means inclined to share, but whom, on his own assurances, I regarded as still more determinedly opposed to the Ultramontanes. I am therefore all the more surprised to hear that Dr. Geffcken was mentioned to you as being the man chosen by the Ultramontanes to represent their wishes and interests, and it is scarcely necessary for me to say that in these circumstances, although I still cherish the hope that this intimation was made without his knowledge and resulted from a complete misjudgment of his views, I must consider the reasons you advance against granting him an interview as being perfectly justified.

Your very obedient
FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

162

FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT VON ROON TO BISMARCK.

CROBNITZ, NEAR
REICHENBACH, OBERLAUSITZ, *February* 15, '76.

MOST HONORED FRIEND,

I am approaching you to-day with the sentiments expressed in these words, for it is only the privilege of old friendship that can justify me in molesting the much-occupied Imperial Chancellor.

In the first place, accept my hearty congratulations on your comparative restoration to health and on the becoming dismissal of the almost intolerable Reichstag. May the two *corpora* both be healthier at their next meeting!

The object of this letter is, however, neither to assure you of my self-evident sympathy, nor to speak on political matters of which I have perhaps lost touch, but to remind you of a kind promise you made me when we last saw each other, in November, '74, in respect of my son-in-law, Brauchitsch.

Nepotism and place-hunting may be considered equally reprehensible,—I consider them so myself; it is impossible, however, when one obtains a little experience of the world, to close one's eyes to the fact that personal considerations often exert a great influence on the distribution of rôles in this world, and that perhaps appreciation on the part of like-minded persons, but rarely practical success, is attained by following Catonian principles.

Permit me, therefore, to repeat that Brauchitsch, formerly Landrath at Genthin, for the last four and a half years Regierungsrath in Potsdam, Prefect in Versailles during the French war, in all these posts, especially the last-mentioned one, under your own eyes, should certainly be fitted for higher and for independent administrative posts. When I mentioned this to you verbally you were of opinion that Brauchitsch ought to have been promoted to a Presi-

dentship, and promised that the omission should soon be rectified.

The ministerial pair who are united in an unnatural marriage for the official production of Presidents, vice-Presidents, etc., and who—as you know—are still imbued with very unfriendly feelings towards me, agree much more easily on what they shall abstain from doing than on what they shall do; until now they have always agreed that Brauchitsch is *not* to be considered.

Would matters remain thus if the Imperial Chancellor and President of the Ministry really expressed a request that Brauchitsch should shortly be preferred? This is hardly possible.

As far as I can learn, the next vacant posts will be those of Vice-President at Cassel and at Schleswig. It is of course for the soldier to go, without a murmur, wherever he is sent; in the official world, however, this rule is not so strictly followed.

When I mentioned that my daughter was dangerously ill last summer with acute rheumatism, from which she is not yet quite recovered, it will be easily understood that I cannot wish for her removal to Schleswig, a northern town surrounded by water and exposed to harsh winds, but that I would heartily rejoice at the removal of my son-in-law to Cassel.

And that is the whole matter. It has not been easy for me to supplicate, and it was *only to you* that I could do it. Shall this request from a tried old friend find no echo? It is true I am no longer the Ziska-skin on the drum, but enough! Self-praise would be either superfluous or—ridiculous.

I may finally add for your information that your old, shunted companion may perhaps continue to vegetate for a while, like a dying cactus, sheltered from the winds in his corner of the conservatory until the death-worm gnawing

at the roots has severed the last fibre. But he is of no more use, for the sharp prickles have fallen off with the meagre blossom. In this purely vegetating condition I rejoice over my past, many as are the leaves in it that are sullied, torn, or empty; I hope, however, for a future corresponding with God's gracious promises, in which the prosperity and the glory of this world seem nothing but dross testifying to vivifying warmth or consuming fire. But pardon this afternoon-preacher tone which to you, who are still an important factor in the world's machinery, like the mainspring in the watch, will of course appear insipid. I most ardently hope and wish, however, that *with* or *after* the toils and tribulations attendant on your great rôle the consciousness may be preserved or reanimated within you that all triumphs and successes of human greatness, that all the joys, all the brilliance and glitter of our earthly existence are nothing in comparison with the eternal glory promised us in Jesus Christ.

That I wish you from my whole heart and with the interest I have devoted to you in unswerving fidelity for a decade. I am, and remain,

Your faithfully devoted old friend,

v. Roon.

163

Cardinal G. von Hohenlohe to Bismarck.

Rome, *March* 5, '76.

Cardinal Ledochovski, who arrived the day before yesterday, was received by his Holiness the same evening, and greeted also by the Papal court, came yesterday evening to the Princess Odescalchi's (*née* Branicka), where a few people had been invited. Cardinal Ledochovski expressed there his appreciation of the manner in which he had been treated at Ostrovo, of the beautiful garden that was placed at his disposal for his walks, etc.; he also said that no

further measures would be taken in Berlin against the Catholic Church, and that, if not immediately, the Imperial Chancellor would certainly later make peace with the Catholic Church. I said to the distinguished gentleman who told me this that "Cardinal Ledochovski might well now be sent to Berlin as Legate." His reply was that it was as yet too early; that a less bitter attitude was already observable here, and that no more speeches and allocutions would be held against this "Prussia." I answered: "We will hope so, and a stop should also be put to the doings of the Centre party; instructions should also be given to the Bishop of Germany to come to an understanding with the Government wherever it is possible."

This was promised me by the eminent, influential gentleman, but it is a question whether the promise will ever be fulfilled. The whole mischief is ascribed by the eminent gentleman to the late Cardinal Reisach, who always incited the Pope and Antonelli against "Prussia," and who planted the seed of what has now grown to be such a great evil.

It is difficult to give a clear representation of the situation here; I restrict myself, therefore, to citing the above facts, and remain, with best wishes for your welfare,

G. Cardinal von Hohenlohe.

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The Crown Prince Frederick to Bismarck.

Potsdam, *May* 9, '76.

I should like to come to you again before the Czar and the three Chancellors meet in Berlin, and if it is convenient to you about half-past nine on Wednesday evening next. Should you prefer another day or another time, kindly let me know.

Your obedient

Friedrich Wilhelm. K. P.

165

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

May 12, '76.

After mature reflection on the conversation I had with you on the evening of the 10th inst., I cannot recommend too strongly the idea of conferring on Friedberg the Imperial Secretaryship for Justice.

Should the Emperor, as you anticipate, advance the well-known scruples against Friedberg, I should like to draw your attention to a circumstance which must certainly carry weight, viz., that it was he who at the time urgently disadvised me from making known my dissenting political views of the Government measures, whereas his Majesty seems to be of the contrary opinion that Friedberg advised me to do this.

I leave it to you to communicate this fact to his Majesty in any form that in your opinion seems appropriate or desirable.

I spoke to Bülow after the dinner to-day, and after Prince Gortchakoff had told me how the negotiations now stand. If Bülow could inform me[1] of the further course of the affair I should be very grateful.

Your obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

Marginal note by Bismarck:

[1] *Fiat.*

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THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

POTSDAM, *June 30, '76.*

As I shall be abroad for a considerable time I should like, before leaving Potsdam, to address a few words to you on behalf of the Under-Secretary of State, Dr. Friedberg, in order to fulfil a duty I owe to this man, who, by the ser-

vices—often entailing great difficulties and sacrifices on his part—he has rendered me with true devotion for a long series of years, has acquired a claim on my gratitude.

I know well that, when the said Friedberg is taken into the Imperial service, you will devote careful and kindly attention not only to the question of his official duties and the organisation of the office that is to be entrusted to him, but also to that of his personal position. I hope, however, that you will consider it quite natural if, in respect of the latter, I do not abstain from giving expression to the fervent wish that the said Friedberg may be accorded an elevation of rank not only corresponding with his position at the head of the German Imperial judicial affairs and with regard to the Ministers of Justice in the separate states, but which is also calculated to afford him a well-earned satisfaction. I would like, therefore, to submit to your consideration a proposal to bestow on the said Friedberg the rank and title of a Minister of State. This is what I should deem most desirable. If there are objections to this of which I am not cognisant there could hardly be any against making him a Privy Councillor with the title of "Excellency."

I should be exceedingly grateful if you would bestow a friendly interest on this matter, which has an important bearing beyond the personal side to which I restrict myself.

Your very obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

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BISMARCK TO COUNT MÜNSTER, GERMAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

KISSINGEN, *July* 6, '76.

DEAR FRIEND,

The Emperor writes me to-day concerning the contents of your report to his Majesty, and wishes me to make a verbal

statement to him on the matter within the next few days. From a letter I have received from his *entourage* I learn that his Majesty was very much moved and excited by your first report, and that this excitement was communicated to Czar Alexander, whose mistrust of England has considerably increased. This has induced her Majesty the Empress to write to her Majesty Queen Victoria on the subject. I am glad to see by this that the foreign service has not suffered in any way from my retirement. I shall not be able to say much to his Majesty about the contents of your report, as only the future can decide whether and in how far predictions come true.

A breach between England and Russia would be a great calamity, and a misfortune to Europe; a breach between Russia and Austria would be more dangerous for us in particular. I assume, from the marginal notes, that his Majesty will direct you to endeavour to exert a pacifying influence on England, whose eager desire for war appears to his Majesty to be analogous to that of Napoleon in 1870. If it should really come to a rupture, I believe the verdict of our most gracious master would coincide with that of all who are fully acquainted with the matter. If his Majesty commands pacifying representations to be made, you could keep fairly closely to the text of the English circular addressed to us in the spring of 1875.

I am using a courier, in order to give you this private information concerning his Majesty's intentions. Permit me to add a friendly request. The Emperor writes me that your reports go to him direct, and not through the Ministry, and, as a matter of fact, those sent me by his Majesty are stamped only with the word "Presented." His Majesty perhaps personally prefers this, so long as no unpleasantness thereby arises, such as that with Arnim, into which the Monarchs are also drawn; between us, thank God, that is impossible. It is, however, contrary to the practice of the serv-

ice, and I know of no case, except that of Arnim, in which it has happened during the past fourteen years. We are too old friends to be punctilious in such matters, but if Bülow were in office now, he would make a Cabinet question of it.

Do not take it ill of me that I mention the matter, but as a rule it will really not do, much as our Sovereign master personally likes it.

Please give my kind regards to the Countess.

Yours,

v. Bismarck.

168

Bismarck to Count Holnstein, Master of the Horse to the King of Bavaria.

Berlin, *January 27, '77.*

Esteemed Count,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 25th instant, and beg you, if you think they will meet with favourable acceptance, to present to his Majesty the King my most respectful thanks for this gracious decision,* which will tend to expedite business on both sides.

In begging you to give my wife's and my kind regards to the Countess, I cannot suppress my admiring appreciation, based on my own experience as well as on the judgment of experts, of the Bavarian fruit culture.

In politics it would appear, after the removal of the Turkish danger, that the negative pole in Paris and the positive pole in St. Petersburg are feeling a certain attraction towards each other; we hope, however, that the Czar Alexander will remain isolated from this electric current. The next pressure of the combination seems, it is true, to be directed against Austria; this may also be assumed from the disposition of the Russian troops, which have lately taken Chotim in preference to Kischeneff as a pivot. In

* The change of the diplomatic representative of Bavaria in Berlin.

view of such symptoms I should be very glad to have someone here through whom I can, in perfect confidence, keep his Majesty, King Ludwig, regularly informed, and intend shortly to summon Baron Werthern here for a preliminary discussion.

With cordial greetings from mine and me,

Yours,

v. Bismarck.

169

GAMBETTA-BISMARCK.

I. Count Guido Henckel Donnersmarck to Bismarck.

Chateau de Pontchartrain,
(*Seine et Oise*), *October* 17, '77.

Most Honoured Prince,

I beg to inform your Excellency, in case it should be of service to you in arranging your plans, that my relations with Gambetta are such that he visits me here in the country. The southerner is so loquacious that one has more opportunity of listening than of speaking; he is, however, the only Frenchman who has a trustworthy and accurate knowledge of German conditions, and this he acquired by spending some time in Germany on several occasions during the past few years.

While on these visits he kept his eyes well open, and most of the persons with whom he came in contact probably had no idea of his personality. If someone who knows how to keep in the shade, and who is devoted to you heart and soul, can be of any use to your Excellency in this matter, he is now as ever quite at your service.

At the end of last August I requested Radowitz to let your Excellency know that I had reliable grounds for estimating that the result of the French elections would be a similar composition of the *Assemblée Nationale,* with a re-

duction of the Republican majority by at least twenty votes. The probability of such an outcome of the elections was vigorously disputed at the time, and only two eventualities—the success of the *Préfets à poigne* or an increase of the Republican majority—were considered possible. In the meantime my prediction has been verified.

Your Excellency's sincerely devoted

HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.

II. COUNT HERBERT BISMARCK TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.

VARZIN, *October* 30, '77.

ESTEEMED COUNT,

My father is extremely obliged to you for your kind letter of the 17th inst., which he received a few days ago. He begs you to excuse him for replying through me; in the present state of his health all letter-writing still severely affects his nerves.

The relations you maintain with Gambetta interest my father very much. My father considers, however, that it would not be advantageous to Gambetta himself or even advisable for him to receive direct communications from here, even through your intervention. If it were to be known in France or only by the Republicans there that Gambetta held any kind of intercourse with the German Imperial Chancellor it would most probably injure him in the eyes of his countrymen generally, but especially in those of his party, and he himself would perhaps soon find it irksome if the result of such contact with *le Prussien* Bismarck should be that in many respects he could no longer free himself from the *ascendant* of the latter.

My father is very pleased that the impressions gained by Gambetta during his repeated visits to Germany seem to have convinced him that the entire German nation wishes for peace; it can only be of advantage to the development and prosperity of the two neighbouring

countries when such an influential and pre-eminent politician as Gambetta becomes confirmed in this conviction, and seeks to communicate it to the best of his ability to his countrymen. As you will know, my father is of opinion that the Republican form of government, such as that which followed its tranquil development until May 16th, is the only one under which France can permanently cultivate peaceable relations with Germany. As is the case in every country in the world, the great mass of the people in France and Germany is peace-loving, and if the Parisians and the Jesuit elements are excepted it can be boldly asserted that the French nation is as much disinclined for a fresh warlike entanglement as the German nation is. My father does not believe, however, that it is *only* through the national hatred and the desire for revenge on the part of our western neighbours that we might be placed in a position soon to be compelled to ward off a fresh French attack. The only danger lies in the French army, in the event of a successful *coup d'état*, being summoned in the service of the Vatican to a crusade against Germany, either under those at present in authority or under a pretender who had arrived at the supreme power. None of the pretenders—should one of them obtain forcible possession of the throne by a bold stroke—would long feel secure against the hostility of the other monarchical parties that had been pushed into the background, and of all the Republicans. Once arrived at power, every pretender would, however, before throwing up the cards, try to relieve the internal fermentation by creating a diversion abroad, and would stir up a quarrel with us. An Ultramontane government—whatever might be the name given to it—would most assuredly be unable *not* to wage a war on us as soon as the Jesuits considered that their purposes would be served by waging it. The wishes and plans of such a government need not be taken into account, for it would simply have

to obey instructions from Rome; under a clerical régime the French army is nothing but "soldiers of the Pope," who march at his orders wherever the Jesuits wish to direct them.

This we have already experienced, in the summer of 1870. It is now among the aims of my father's policy to prevent such a possibility arising—as far as we can do so without interfering in France's internal affairs. He believes that this aim can be attained, and is by no means one of those Germans who say: "There must be a war with France within the next few years; it is better, therefore, to have it as soon as possible, while France is still weak, and we are sure of defeating her again." This is the *raisonnement* of a certain military party, which has a hearing, it is true, but no power.

My father has always opposed this style of reasoning; he considers that there are absolutely no incontrovertible grounds for assuming that a war with France is inevitable within the next few years, for no one can act the part of Providence and know what the world will look like some years hence. It is indubitable that every war, even a victorious one, is a calamity, and so long as it is not absolutely unavoidable my father will not advise it. It would be too dangerous a game to try to drive out the devil with the help of Beelzebub. It would not be such a very difficult matter to begin a war; one can never definitely know, however, how it will end. The fortune of war is variable, and the most clear-sighted military men are occasionally at fault in their anticipations and calculations. There is a striking example of that just at the present moment in Bulgaria. *We* need and wish for no war with France, and we also believe that there is no reason why it must of necessity break out so long as the Pope is not supreme there. When this happens, there will be hardly any prospect of a long peace.

I have endeavoured in the above to give you the tenor of some utterances of my father's. He empowered me to do this, and added that you might make whatever use you wished of this letter.

My father sends you his kindest regards, and I am,

Your most obedient

COUNT HERBERT BISMARCK.

III. COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK TO BISMARCK.

NEUDECK, *December 23, '77.*

MOST ESTEEMED PRINCE,

Your Excellency will no doubt already be acquainted with the secret history of MacMahon's change of mind in all its curious details, and also with the fact that it was Gambetta alone who directed the Committee, although he carefully avoided coming prominently forward.

I heard from Gambetta the day before yesterday through a safe intermediary. In the middle of November, he said, I had told him that it was my personal opinion that the Imperial Chancellor would never believe in the sincerity of a French Government towards Germany so long as its foreign policy was in clerical hands and Gontaut was Ambassador in Berlin. He had, he continued, then answered me to the effect that by the end of the year these obstacles would be removed; the appointment of a Protestant * to assume the conduct of French foreign affairs and the replacement of Gontaut by St. Vallier, who was designated by Hohenlohe as a person who would be sympathetic and acceptable to Germany, had in the meantime been carried out as manifestations of the desire on the part of France to cultivate good relations with Germany. He enquired whether, on the other hand, an official expression of sym-

* Waddington.

pathy towards the present French Government, perhaps in connection with the forthcoming exhibition,—we abiding, however, by our original intention not to take any active part in it,—might be hoped for. Such a demonstration would be very welcome to the Ministry at the present moment.

I answered him to-day that I was not in a position to give an opinion in this matter, adding, however, that a determined attitude against Rome was unquestionably the surest means of furthering the *rapprochement*.

At the end of October your Excellency wrote me through your son that it would evidently injure Gambetta in the eyes of his countrymen if he maintained any intercourse whatever with Bismarck, *le Prussien*; to this I can only say that Gambetta's prestige in his party is unqualified; the dictator of Tours is still an autocrat there.

If you give me permission to do so, I would take it upon myself to bring Gambetta to you at Varzin, and, according as you decide, either publicly or without letting anyone know of it. All that is necessary is a hint from you. The *pater* Joseph of the present Government, the holder of the majority in the *Assemblée générale* and in a *congrès* of the two parliamentary bodies, will proffer you to its fullest extent the friendly co-operation of France, in order to attain what he considers indispensable for the re-establishment of settled relations and the restoration of mutual confidence in Europe, and for relieving the commercial and industrial distress—viz., the adoption of a common attitude on the part of Germany and France against Rome, the revival of confidence between the two nations, and a mutual understanding with respect to the military budget.

With sincere esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.

IV. Bismarck to Count Henckel Donnersmarck.

Varzin, *December* 28, '77.

Honoured Count,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 23rd inst., which I have read with great interest.

The change of the person of the French Ambassador has pleased me intensely; if anything was calculated to promote our confidence in the peaceable sentiments of France, it was the recall of Gontaut, who had identified himself with all the movements hostile to the Empire, and I only wish some practicable means could be found of outwardly manifesting our pleasure. It is impossible for us to re-open the question of the Exhibition, as it is now too late for our exhibitors to make any arrangements; I hope, however, that without this Gambetta will be set completely at ease with regard to our intentions. I should be very glad to enter into personal relations with him; for the moment, however, that would greatly alarm the Emperor, as his Majesty has been well worked upon by Gontaut and other influences in respect of Republican propaganda, and has been rendered very mistrustful. Moreover, I should, in Gambetta's own interest, consider it precipitate if he were foolish enough to compromise himself with me; I attach too great importance to his retaining his authority unimpaired to be inclined to facilitate his shaking it. He is one of the few authoritative natures still existing in France, and in view of his peaceable sentiments and of the power, which is still considerable, of the parties opposed to him, I think that the capital hoarded in him should be husbanded for the present. In any case I am very much obliged to you for establishing in this way indirect relations which I shall gladly use and cherish. I am pleased that you think kindly of me, and I beg of you to reckon on my readiness to reciprocate.

Yours, v. Bismarck.

V. Count Henckel Donnersmarck to Bismarck.

(Telegram.)*

Despatched from Paris, *April* 12, '78.

Prince Bismarck,

Berlin.

Early fruits requested cannot at the moment be found, notwithstanding most careful search been made. Consignment cannot arrive within a week. Details leave this evening. Henckel.

VI. Count Henckel Donnersmarck to Bismarck.

25, Avenue des Champs Elysées,

Paris, *April* 12, '78.

Most Honoured Count,

In view of the Reichstag recess beginning to-morrow I telegraphed to your Excellency to-day:

"Early fruits," (etc., as above), and beg to report as follows.

Immediately after arriving here on the evening of the 6th I sent to the person in question, but was informed that, in consequence of the death of his aunt, Gambetta had gone to Nice, and would be away at least until the end of this week; nobody knew his address.

The next morning (Sunday) I got one of his best friends, who first introduced me to him, to try and ascertain where letters and telegrams for him should be addressed, or, if his whereabouts had to be kept secret, if they could be forwarded. Enquiries among his most intimate friends proved that no one knows where he is staying; he is certainly not at Nice, and has probably hidden himself somewhere to obtain a little rest. As soon as he returns here I will make the necessary arrangements, and will at once inform you of the day of the arrival in Berlin.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's faithfully devoted

Henckel Donnersmarck.

* Sent in French.

VII. Bismarck to Count Henckel Donnersmarck.

Berlin, *April* 14, '78.

Honoured Friend,

I am very much obliged for your communications, and shall always be glad when we can see our arrangements carried into effect. But for the rheumatism, I should be at Friedrichsruh already. I am going there as soon as I can travel, and remain there until May 1st, unless I have to spend a day in Berlin when the King of Sweden passes through, I believe on the 20th instant. The journey occupies only four hours; I could, therefore, also at *your* wish take the train for Berlin at any time *before* the first of May and be home again on the same evening. My wife does not yet know whether she will follow me; she is very grateful for and intensely pleased with the wonderful Maréchal Niels,* which that polyglot European of a gardener of yours has transplanted here in perfect condition and in the full glory of their bloom. Everybody who knows anything about the matter is greatly impressed at the sight of them.

With friendly greetings,

Yours,

v. Bismarck.

VIII. Gambetta to Count Henckel Donnersmarck. †

Paris, *April* 22, '78.

My Dear Count,

I am extremely sorry that you should have had the annoyance of writing to me on April 6th without receiving an answer. Please excuse me; the painful loss I had sustained kept me away from Paris for three weeks without communicating with anyone. I should like to see you tomorrow, about half-past one in the afternoon, to express my regrets and to converse with you as you desire.

With my kindest regards,

L. Gambetta.

* Roses.

† Translated from the original French.

IX. Count Henckel Donnersmarck to Bismarck.

(Telegram.)*

Paris, *April* 23, '78.

Prince Bismarck,

Friedrichsruh.

Consignment leaves Sunday, arrives Berlin Monday evening, will be at your disposal Tuesday, details follow.

Henckel.

X. Count Henckel Donnersmarck to Bismarck.

25 Champs Elysées,

Paris, *April* 23, '78.

Most Honoured Prince,

I have had the honour and the pleasure of receiving your kind letter of the 14th instant. Gambetta, who returned here yesterday evening, has just left me, and I have sent the following telegram to Friedrichsruh:

"Consignment leaves Sunday, arrives Berlin Monday evening, will be at your disposal Tuesday, details follow."

Gambetta's aunt, who stinted herself to provide for his education, and to whom he was most fondly attached, died quite suddenly and unexpectedly. He was so shaken by the death that for several weeks he shut himself up away from everyone. He is ready to come to Berlin at any time that may be most convenient to your Excellency; he would like, however, not to be away too long after the *Assemblée Nationale* resumes its sittings (April 29th).

In order to spare you the unnecessary journey from Friedrichsruh to Berlin and back, I have arranged our departure from here on Sunday evening, and our arrival in Berlin (Hôtel Kaiserhof) on the evening of Monday the 29th. On the 30th, the day on which the Reichstag re-opens, Gambetta will be at your disposal, and I trust to

* Sent in French.

receive at the Kaiserhof intimation as to the time which will suit you best. The whole matter has, of course, been kept a close secret here.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's faithfully devoted

HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.

XI. GAMBETTA TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.*

PARIS, *April* 24, '78.

DEAR COUNT HENCKEL,

Man proposes . . . parliament disposes. When I accepted with eagerness yesterday I had not reckoned with the unforeseen which holds us all in check.

Questions relating to the Ministry for War have assumed a serious aspect, and I am informed that an important debate will be opened on the Ministry for War as soon as the Chambers meet.

I cannot desert my parliamentary post at such a time, and leave behind me an incident entailing such important consequences.

I am, therefore, under the dire necessity of postponing, at least until after the session, which will probably be very short, the execution of a project to the realisation of which you have so efficaciously and so sympathetically contributed. I am extremely grateful for this, and when the Chambers separate you will perhaps, if there is still time, again permit me to solicit your kind intervention.

Accept, etc.

L. GAMBETTA.

XII. TELEGRAM TO COUNT HENCKEL DONNERSMARCK.

BERLIN, *April* 24, '78.

COUNT HENCKEL,

Champs Elysées, Paris.

Recipient of your yesterday's telegram is ill, and desires

*Translated from the original French.

you to be informed that, in the opinion of his doctors, it will be ten days or a fortnight before he can return to Berlin.

A footnote in the German edition says:

"Prince Bismarck and Gambetta never met, nor was a meeting between them ever again mooted; Gambetta was once, however, at Friedrichsruh incognito as a tourist, and was shown over the house. Prince Bismarck was away at the time."

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Bismarck to Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe.

Varzin, *January* 1, '78.

Your Excellency,

I should like to add to my New Year's congratulations, already expressed to you *en clair*, my most cordial thanks for the clear-sighted and courageous support you have given me at all times, and especially with such great success during the past few months. Unfortunately, I do not always find the ability to represent our policy united with a loyal inclination to do so, and I am all the more grateful for the exceptions where this is the case. I shall always acknowledge with gratitude that, during the whole time we have worked together, I could always count on your Excellency's certain and successful co-operation, without which it would not be possible, in the face of all the animosities and intrigues of which I am the object, to attain the indispensable and to render the dangerous innocuous.

For some days past I have been ill again and am compelled to keep my room. Owing to the fact that I am treated with such scant consideration in respect of business affairs, I cannot recover from the effects of what is, in itself, an insignificant cold.

I beg your Excellency to place me at the Princess's feet, and am,

Yours,

v. Bismarck.

171

PRINCE HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK.

MUNICH, *January* 5, '78.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

I have had the honour to receive here the friendly words which your Excellency was kind enough to address to me at the beginning of the New Year. I thank you most heartily for them; they have given me great pleasure. The less contented I am myself with what I have achieved politically and diplomatically, the more gratifying to me is the extremely kind manner in which your Excellency appreciates it. I shall preserve your letter for my children and grandchildren, as the most valuable document my family possesses.

I need hardly add that your Excellency may also in the future count on my full and unqualified co-operation.

I know better than many others the animosity to which you are exposed, for your enemies were always mine and will also remain so. I will continue the fight to the utmost extent of my powers, and shall be proud to be permitted to work under your direction. May God preserve you in health and strength, still to conduct the affairs of Germany and of Prussia to the welfare of the Fatherland.

Again wishing that the year which is beginning may be a happy one for you and yours, I have the honour, with sincere esteem, to be Your Excellency's most obedient

C. F. v. HOHENLOHE.

172

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *January* 28, '78.

The enclosure contains the political portion of my report to his Majesty on my mission to Rome on the occasion of the death of King Victor Emanuel, which I think will be of interest to you.

I am not yet ready with my description of the ceremonies, though this does not matter much, as the newspapers report much more accurately than I, and my work will have only documentary value.

The impression I have obtained from the journey, which was arranged and carried out in such a short time, is that it was quite right, in such exceptional circumstances, to send me to Rome.

The Italians feel flattered, the Court is honoured, and the young King has one reason more to convince himself as to who are his friends.

French bungling and Jesuitical explosions of rage favoured my appearance in the Eternal City, as did also the repulse given by the Pope to the Queen of Portugal and the Archduke Rainer.

Hohenlohe * gave me to understand that he was at my orders, but that a meeting with me might be prejudicial to him. This was reason enough for my not seeing him. I sent him a message, however, to the effect that he might take an opportunity of informing the Pope that I always recall with pleasure the old gentleman's kindness and amiability towards my wife and myself when we were in Rome on former occasions; that I did not intend to visit St. Peter's or the Vatican galleries this time; and that I was sorry to hear he was so ill.

King Humbert expects an old, blunt Italian from the Conclave. Crispi made emphatic reference to your question of 1870, " whether we would count on him and his party," and to his meeting with you this autumn. The old, blind Duca di Sermoneta was at no pains to conceal his sympathies with us, and Depretis, in spite of his taciturnity, seemed to me to be well disposed towards us.

Prince Napoleon (Jérome) is animated with a love of peace, and discussed the events of the war of 1870-71 as un-

* The Cardinal.

constrainedly as Canrobert did; the latter hates the Republic.

Hoping to see you again soon,

Your very obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

173

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

[BERLIN], *February* 17, '78.

If it would not disturb you too much, I should like to come to you this evening at 8 o'clock, in order to obtain my information before the excitement of the feast.

I leave at 9 o'clock for Potsdam, to meet their Belgian Majesties, and arrive with them here at 10:15.

It would be nothing short of a crime if I were to come to you after this evening ceremony!

Your very obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

174

BERLIN, *February* 22, '78.

COUNT HERBERT BISMARCK TO COUNT HOLNSTEIN.

HONOURED PATRON,

The Bundesrath voted yesterday on the Substitute Bill, with what result you will already know. The Bill was passed unanimously in the form in which it left the Committee. My father sacrificed the original form of the Bill to attain this unanimity, but it still gives him what he needs from a business point of view; more than this he does not desire to obtain, and Herr von Pfretzschner* has expressed to him his especial thanks for accepting the amendments in Committee.

*A Bavarian statesman.

The whole affair has produced so many newspaper articles, and consequently misunderstandings, that it seemed as if really a great number of difficulties—even if only imaginary ones—were arising against it. Many persons have acquired quite a wrong impression of the significance of the Bill, and my father has had much trouble to expose the real kernel of the matter. He is all the more grateful to your exalted master [the King of Bavaria], whose gracious confidence enabled him to secure the unanimity of the Governments in the Bundesrath which is indispensable if the Reichstag is to remain within bounds. My father's views on the development of the Empire have not changed since he explained them to his Majesty from Kissingen last summer. The whole Substitutes Bill has no bearing whatever on the independent Ministries in the Empire. The rights of the Bundesrath remain intact whether the authority of the Chancellor is transferable or not; his substitutes can never have more rights than the Chancellor himself has possessed hitherto.

Many words have been wasted by the newspapers in the discussion of plans which never existed, and which, according to the Constitution, are impossible. My father desires no more than the possibility of being represented and of having leave of absence, or of being relieved of some of the current business.

A change of the Constitution and a curtailment of the rights of the Bundesrath are impossible, and even if they were possible my father would always most determinedly oppose the carrying out of this immature idea, which must necessarily have a most seriously injurious effect on the whole administrative machine of the Empire and the individual states. The *only* question in all the documents has been that the possibility of the Imperial Chancellor being replaced by a substitute has become a necessity.

It has fallen to me to write letters from Varzin, at my

father's direction, to the Minister Bülow, in which this point was made perfectly clear. My father has also empowered me to communicate all this to you, as he is very desirous that you should be acquainted with the exact state of affairs. I can only repeat that my father, now as heretofore, has nothing to do with Imperial Ministers, and that the *support* given to *his* standpoint is at all times welcome to him. There is absolutely no idea of the present Bill ever becoming a bridge to Imperial Ministries. As long as the constitutional rights of the Bundesrath are not impaired or diminished, such Ministries, which vegetate in the phantasies of journalists, are simply impossible.

It must, however, be made *indisputably* possible for my father to be represented, otherwise he cannot continue to be Chancellor, and no one can be Chancellor in his place. Beside this *one* chief point the special clauses which have been introduced into the bill are fairly immaterial to him. He proved this yesterday, by most readily accepting the alterations made in the Bundesrath.

During the week that we have been here my father has again been compelled to work very hard, and his health is already beginning to suffer in consequence. Owing to the fact that he cannot have a substitute, the latter is worse than it was ten months ago. As he had to treat everything in writing while he was on leave and in the health-resort exactly as if he were in Berlin, he could obtain no rest or recreation. It was not merely the foreign policy which devolved upon him alone. His constant endeavour is to maintain peace, and although he is not supported in this by all the powers that are friendly toward us to the extent that he might have expected, he still hopes that *we* at least will remain at peace.

My parents wish to be remembered to you and your wife.

H. Bismarck.

175

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

POTSDAM, *May* 14, '78.

I must, to my extreme regret, relinquish the idea of seeing you before I start for England. As it is possible that the Alsace-Lorraine affair may be advanced a step during my absence from Berlin, I feel in duty bound to make the express statement to you, that, should his Majesty decide to summon me to the post * in question, I will be ready to obey the summons with pleasure.

Your very obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

176

KING LUDWIG II. OF BAVARIA TO BISMARCK.

(Telegram.)

PARTENKIRCHEN, *September* 30, '78.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRINCE V. BISMARCK,

GERMAN IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR, BERLIN:

I send you my warmest and sincerest congratulations and good wishes on the joyous family event,† in which I take the keenest interest, as I do in everything that concerns you, my dear Prince, and your house.

LUDWIG.

177

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

October 10, '78.

Enclosed are my impressions collected in South Germany and on the Rhine, which are at your disposal.

One thing I forgot to refer to the other evening, viz., whether the President of the Court of Appeal at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Simson, would not be the most suitable person for the new post of President of the Supreme Court

* Of Statthalter of Alsace and Lorraine.

† The betrothal of the Countess Marie von Bismarck with Count Kuno zu Rantzau, on September 22, 1878.

of the Empire at Leipzig. The matter is not yet pressing, but I wished to put forward and strongly recommend my candidate in good time.

A person with such a past and of so much political weight has assuredly the talent required to organise our Supreme Court and then to conduct it.

Your

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

178

PRINCE CHLODWIG ZU HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK.

PARIS, *December* 10, '78

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

The Cabinet Order, with which his Majesty was gracious enough to send me the insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle, speaks in such flattering language of my public services that I cannot refrain from expressing my deeply felt thanks to your Excellency, to whose friendly feelings towards me I must ascribe this Imperial appreciation.

If I have succeeded in administering the offices I have held to the satisfaction of the Emperor and your Excellency, it is owing chiefly to the forbearance and benevolence you have been good enough to exercise towards me in judging my work from the commencement. This gave me the courage and the self-confidence of which I stood in need.

While requesting your Excellency still further to extend your favour towards me, I am with the most sincere respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

C. F. v. HOHENLOHE.

179

PRESIDENT SIMSON TO BISMARCK.

FRANKFURT-ON-THE-ODER, *March* 19, '79.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE AND IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR,

The arguments urged by your Excellency yesterday have deeply affected me; in the conversation permitted

me with my family and friends my scruples were all removed; I place myself unreservedly at your Excellency's disposal.*

I wish I could in some measure express the gratitude with which my soul is filled for the favour again vouchsafed to me by your Excellency.

I remain, most illustrious Prince, in deep and faithful veneration,

Your Excellency's most obedient

SIMSON,

President of the Court of Appeal.

180

THE EMPEROR WILLIAM TO B. VON BÜLOW, SECRETARY OF STATE.

BABELSBERG, *August* 29, '79.

I see to my great astonishment that Andrássy started for Gastein yesterday before he has laid down his office and Haymerle appointed. You will, therefore, please telegraph to Prince Bismarck as follows:

"To Prince Bismarck,

"Gastein.

"Agree to everything, and Manteuffel despatched. Consider journey to Vienna, however, now impossible, even if Warsaw passes off satisfactorily." To be signed,

"Wilhelm."

Even if this intimation arrives too late to prevent a communication of the travelling plan to Andrássy, it is absolutely necessary.

WILHELM.

181

BISMARCK TO B. VON BÜLOW.

(Telegram.)

GASTEIN, *August* 30, '79.

Telegram received. Kindly report to his Majesty that I have promised Count Andrássy to pay my return visit to

* For the office of President of the Supreme Court.

him in Vienna, on the way back. Shall I now write to him that his Majesty forbids my doing this? I cannot accept the responsibility myself of the political consequences of sending such a message to Vienna in the present state of affairs. I think, therefore, that I must start on my return journey *via* Vienna in about a fortnight.

v. Bismarck.

182

B. von Bülow to Bismarck.

(Telegram.)

Berlin, *August* 30, '79.

Report submitted this evening. His Majesty instructs me to inform your Excellency that, after explanations given, he readily agrees to return visit in Vienna in about a fortnight's time. That telegram crossed his Majesty's letter containing the grounds of objections. The telegram transmitted to your Excellency was all that is to hand respecting the notification of the Czar's visit on the 3rd. The Czar said he could not, on account of the proximity, decline to receive the Emperor Franz Josef there.

v. Bülow.

183

Count Andrássy to Bismarck.

Schönbrunn, *September* 1, '79.

Honoured Prince,

I have communicated telegraphically from Gastein *in nuce* to my most gracious master, who is proceeding direct from Prague to Bruck, the tendency and the provisional result of our interview. I pointed out in particular that the question is of a defensive agreement, a sort of insurance between our two sovereigns in view of the armaments and of the comminatory language which we and Germany hear in turn, the idea of the same being that any attack on one of the two empires is to be repelled with the entire joint forces, and

that the *casus fœderis* is to come into force if one of the two empires is attacked by a third power, and Russia should co-operate with the latter.

I also pointed out that I had warmly advocated this combination, but I did not in any way try to influence his Majesty's decision.

To this I received, on my arrival, a telegram from Prague, in which the Emperor states that he fully accords with the tendency and the provisional results of our interview, and invites me to come to him in the camp at Bruck. I was in Bruck yesterday and had the opportunity of making a detailed, verbal report.

I found the Emperor so convinced of the utility, and, indeed, of the necessity of such an agreement, that it was superfluous to advance any further reasons in its support. His Majesty regards it not only as no deviation from the project of maintaining peace in the three Empires, but as being now the only possible means of removing the Damocles sword which constantly hangs over our relations, and of assuring peace for the welfare of the third party as well as of ourselves.

That my Emperor is always glad to see you here, and will be especially glad now, is a matter of course. In the meantime, I am empowered to receive a text of the proposed agreement as soon as his Majesty, the Emperor William, has sanctioned it in principle, and also to draw one up for approval myself.

I will remain in office until this matter is concluded, although my successor has been initiated by myself, and is quite in accord with our project.

I have no doubt whatever of the personal intentions of Czar Alexander, and am convinced that he does not wish for war. As a Minister of a neighbouring State, I cannot, however, forget that he did not wish for the war which has just ended, and that from the beginning to the end of

it he vainly endeavoured to stem the current proceeding from his immediate *entourage*.

I consider the removal of these dangers to be a European necessity; and, difficult as it is now for me to postpone my retirement, it would be extremely agreeable to me, as the servant of my Emperor and of my country, to sign with you, honoured Prince, such a guarantee for the future of the two Empires.

Austria has made the mistake in the past of refusing Germany's offers, which would have assured the interest of both the countries. I am glad that we are not this time committing such a mistake.

In sincere friendship and true esteem,

Your most obedient

ANDRÁSSY.

184

BISMARCK TO COUNT ANDRÁSSY.

GASTEIN, *September* 3, '79.

HONOURED COUNT,

I received your letter of the 1st yesterday evening with great pleasure and satisfaction, and hasten to take advantage of the return of the bearer of it to send you a provisional answer. In the first place, I beg you to place at the feet of his Majesty the Emperor my most respectful thanks for the gracious manner in which his Majesty has thought of my intention of coming to Vienna. I am glad to learn from your letter that our project has already one foot in the stirrup, and do not doubt that our joint work will succeed in getting it firmly in the saddle. Owing to the nature of things, geographically as well as politically, my share of the task cannot, unfortunately, be despatched as expeditiously as yours. A verbal report has not only the advantage of gaining time, it also enables the minister to restrict

his replies to the questions actually raised by his Sovereign. In the written statement, on the other hand, I must anticipate all the misunderstandings which I fear may arise. I have thus dictated exactly sixty folio pages to my son, who, with your kind permission, is writing this letter, and yet was obliged to explain the contents fully in a subsequent telegraphic message. In spite of all my care, however, I have not succeeded in completely obviating the misunderstanding that there must be some idea of an aggressive tendency behind our peaceable plan. This idea is, of course, very uncongenial to a more than eighty-two-year-old gentleman, but I hope to be able completely to remove it, even if it should cost me a fairly long postscript to the said sixty pages. There is less probability of my overcoming my master's disinclination to adapt himself quickly to new situations.

His Majesty regards the recent step of the Czar Alexander as the first, lightning-like elucidation of a situation which *I* have been compelled frequently to realise during the past few years. And then, after all this, the Czar Alexander—whether as the result of outside influence or of his own resolution, I do not know—endeavours to force *Jupiter tonans* into the background again by a quick transition to sunshine. Thus the last menacing utterances were followed, within a week, by a friendly invitation to send Prussian officers to Warsaw. My Emperor accepted, and announced that he would send Field-marshal Manteuffel with a suite. Baron Manteuffel's reception at Warsaw has been a most gratifying one, both personally and politically. . . . I do not know whether the meeting arranged for to-day at Alexandrovo is due to his or to Russian initiative. The objections raised here to a meeting on Russian territory were met with the rejoinder that provision could not be so quickly made outside Russia for assuring the personal safety of the Czar. As far as I know, this meeting

takes place to-day; our Emperor is accompanied only by his adjutants, and in Minister v. Bülow's opinion his chief object is to obtain from the Czar an explanation of his threatening attitude.

I dare not hope to receive *before* this an answer to my report made to the Emperor on the 2nd, and which has only been acknowledged by Bülow telegraphically. I gather from Bülow's telegram that the Emperor agrees to my resuming the discussions with you, my most honoured friend, in Vienna, but that I must "settle nothing without his sanction." This is a matter of course, and you will not be impatient if his age, his habits, and the novelty of the perspective combine to make my master need time in which to arrive at a decision. Furthermore, and this is favourable to our plan, his Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, has been consulted in the matter by his father, so that time is needed for an exchange of ideas between the two exalted gentlemen.

As is the case with you, each day's reflection strengthens my conviction that the work we have undertaken is not only beneficial, but necessary, and I hope that God will grant it to us to assure to our two great Empires the guarantee of external and internal peace for which they are striving. I have considered it my duty to let you know how far I have advanced with my work, and will again do so, as soon as I receive my master's promised statement. If his Majesty should put it into writing, at Königsberg, on the 4th, I shall be in possession of it on the 7th, or the 8th at the latest. I was sorely tempted to go to Berlin myself, directly you had started back, in order to plead our cause verbally; but the state of my health and my strength did not allow me to undergo this strain, and, moreover, my experience is that I arrive at an understanding with my exalted master in important and difficult matters far more surely, if not so quickly, by written than by verbal intercourse. It hap-

pens so frequently that difficulties crop up in the latter case which do not necessarily belong to the subject.

I hope to finish my cure here in fifteen to sixteen days, and by that time to be again ready for the coming winter.

Hoping that we shall soon meet again, I am, with most friendly esteem,

Your most obedient
v. Bismarck.

185

Bismarck to Count Andrássy.

Gastein, *September* 20, '79.

Honoured Count,

I have the honour now to supplement my reply of the 3rd inst. to your Excellency's favour of the 1st. I have repeatedly and fully reported on the situation in accordance with the tenor of our discussions here, and the fact that my colleagues who represent me entirely accord with my views has enabled me to overcome the difficulties produced by the geographical distance and by opposing influences from another side, in so far that the Emperor now agrees in principle to the view which guided me in our recent discussions. My substitute, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode, informs me that the Emperor is prepared to consent to an understanding according to which both powers mutually promise to do their utmost for the maintenance of peace, and especially towards fostering peaceable relations with Russia,—and that, should one of them be attacked by one or more powers, they will repel this attack with their entire joint forces.

I am thus empowered by my most gracious master to propose a Defensive Alliance between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, without stipulating any conditions, and for a definite or indefinite period. I beg your Excellency to arrange to discuss this proposition verbally with me, and I would then submit the result of our deliberations to my

most gracious master. I have no doubt of obtaining his Majesty's sanction if your Excellency is in a position to assent, in the name of his Majesty, the Emperor Franz Josef, to our proposition in the simplest and general form in which it is made.

In any case, I shall esteem myself happy if our deliberations produce this result or any other which might promote the common interests of the two Empires, and further the cause of peace in Europe.

With the most friendly esteem, I am, from my heart,

Your most obedient

v. Bismarck.

186

Cardinal Gustav von Hohenlohe to Bismarck.

Rome, *November* 26, '79.

Honoured Sir,

I again take the liberty of writing to your Excellency. I am told here that the peace negotiations with Cardinal Jacobini are making favourable progress, and I thank God for this satisfactory turn of affairs. Nevertheless, certain "clerical hotspurs" flatter themselves that the Jesuits will again be smuggled into Prussia by means of some such passage as the following: "Religious associations and societies have free entry into Prussia."

Although the Jesuits are not named, people flatter themselves that the passage will get through, and the Jesuits will follow. Happy naïveté! It is always a good thing to guard our Fatherland against this public calamity.

With heartiest wishes for your well-being, and in deepest respect and veneration,

Your Excellency's

most obedient servant,

G. Cardinal v. Hohenlohe, *Bishop of Albano.*

187

COUNT LEHNDORFF TO BISMARCK.

(Telegram.)

BERLIN, *December* 15, '79, 10.9 A. M.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRINCE VON BISMARCK, VARZIN.

Various, and partially contradictory, reports concerning your Excellency's state of health have reached his Majesty the Emperor and King, and have made him so anxious that his Majesty urgently desires to have telegraphic news of the same. His Majesty is all the more anxious as your Excellency has had to receive visits from two important personages * within the last few days, and he awaits with exceeding eagerness and sympathy the assurance that the mental efforts consequent on these visits have had no ill effect. His Majesty sincerely wishes and hopes that this is so, and sends your Excellency most cordial greetings.

COUNT LEHNDORFF,
Aide-de-camp.

188

BISMARCK TO COUNT LEHNDORFF.

(Telegram.)

VARZIN, *December* 15, '79.

TO GENERAL COUNT LEHNDORFF,
THE ROYAL PALACE, BERLIN.

I beg you to place at his Majesty's feet my most respectful thanks for the gracious solicitude.

I am still very weak, and recover but slowly; visits such as the recent ones retard my recovery, but I felt that in the interest of the service I could not decline them; there is no

* Count Peter Schouvaloff, and Lord Dufferin, English Ambassador to the Russian court.

danger of their causing a relapse, for my intercourse with those two gentlemen involved no anxiety and no mental excitement, and it is the latter which, in my doctor's opinion, I must chiefly avoid. More by letter.

v. Bismarck.

189

King Ludwig II. of Bavaria to Bismarck.

Schloss Berg, *May* 17, '80.

My Dear Prince Bismarck,

I thank you most heartily for sending me the bill respecting the Church Laws, which is to be introduced into the Prussian Landtag, and for accompanying it with such a lucid exposition of the situation. I am deeply grieved, however, my dear Prince, to find that you have subjoined the announcement of your intended retirement from office. You know the measure of sincere esteem and of unqualified confidence which I bear unquenchably in my heart towards you, and can judge from that how keenly I must feel the realisation of your purpose. Although affairs in the Reichstag may not always assume the most desirable form, the Federal Council will always, my dear Prince, gladly stand by you unchangeably on the federative basis of the constitution. My Government, which never for a moment deviated from that basis, was always supported by the consciousness that it was at one with the man to whose eminent statesmanlike foresight and labours Germany owes her new greatness, which has been achieved in such a manner that the necessary independence and strength of the individual States have not only not been curtailed, but have been increased through the Federal consolidation.

The continuance of such principles assures to the common Fatherland times of peace and of power. The more ardently

I desire this, and the more I am resolved always to do my utmost towards this end, the less willing I am to relinquish the hope that the affairs of Germany may remain for long years to come under your irreplaceable guidance.

Receive, my dear Prince, the renewed assurance of my especial esteem, with which I am,

Your sincere friend,

LUDWIG.

190

KING LUDWIG II. OF BAVARIA TO BISMARCK.

SCHLOSS BERG, *June* 15, '80.

MY DEAR PRINCE BISMARCK,

I tender you my best thanks for your letter of the 9th inst.,* the enclosure to which interested me exceedingly. I esteem your communications very highly, both for the extreme importance of their contents, and for the fact that they are a mark of kindly attention, and trust you will continue them. I hear that you will soon be at Kissingen. You know, my dear Prince, how sincere is my wish for your welfare; I shall always rejoice at the fulfilment of these wishes, for I am,

Your sincere friend,

LUDWIG.

191

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

WIESBADEN, *November* 18, '80.

Soon after my return from St. Petersburg I made copious notes of the impressions I had received there. I was so frequently interrupted, however, that I decided to postpone

* The draft has not been found.

until late in the autumn the task of writing them out in full.

This is now done, but I was persuaded to use duplicating ink so that I should not be obliged to give my work into the hands of a third person to be transcribed. The result, however, has been disastrous.

As the mischief was done, I preferred to reckon on your forbearance rather than to try and repair it, so that my report comes with the request that you will pay more attention to the contents than to the colour of the ink, the handwriting, and its general appearance.

This remarkable manuscript is at your disposal, and it supplements the conversation I had with you shortly after my return from Russia. I shall probably find opportunities during the coming years to revert from time to time to my interview with the heir-apparent!

Trusting to see you on New Year's Day,

Your very obedient

FRIEDRICH WILHELM. K. P.

192

CARDINAL GUSTAV V. HOHENLOHE TO BISMARCK.

VILLE D'ESTE, *March* 25, '81.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

Will your Excellency permit me to offer my sincerest congratulations on your birthday. Every respectable German must thank God on that day for having given you to the Fatherland, and must pray that you may still live many, many years in ease and happiness after so many cares, toils, and unpleasantnesses. I do this daily; on your birthday I shall specially pray for you, and have prayers said for you throughout my diocese of Albano. I am thinking of going there now, for some time, and to leave the Vatican alone,

so that it may gradually come to itself and approach more and more to the German Government.

Please remember me to the Princess, with the assurance of my true devotion and friendship. I have the honour to be, Your Excellency's

most obedient servant

G. Cardinal v. Hohenlohe.

193

Lord Ampthill to Bismarck.*

Private and Personal. British Embassy,
Berlin, *April* 1. '82.

Dear Prince Bismarck,

My wife and I join in heartily wishing you many happy returns of your birthday, with health and prosperity to enjoy them to the joy of your family and the happiness of your great Fatherland.

On your birthday I think I may venture to commit an indiscretion, and submit privately to you a few extracts of a private letter just received from Lord Granville.

He says: "Count Herbert Bismarck goes to-morrow, and there is a rumour that he is likely not to return at all,—or at all events only for a short time. This we must sincerely regret. He has made himself exceedingly popular, and there are many, certainly including Lady Granville and myself, who would be very sorry indeed to lose him.

"He has been successful in circles where success was difficult and not absolutely to be reckoned upon. He shows great interest, and is energetic in making acquaintance with all classes of people; but, as you know, it requires some time to get hold of the kernel, and as he is likely to play a very considerable part in the politics of his own country,

* Given in the original English.

and as one of the obstacles to the better understanding of the two nations has been the want of knowledge of each, which some politicians display,—I venture to think his early departure a mistake, and to entertain the earnest hope that he may return and dwell among us as long as possible."

In thus committing an indiscretion, my object is to show how much Count Herbert has been appreciated in England.

With every good wish, believe me, dear Prince Bismarck,

Yours gratefully,

AMPTHILL.

194

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

(Telegram.)

BERLIN, *May 7, '82, 1.20 P. M.*

TO THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR,
PRINCE BISMARCK, FRIEDRICHSRUH.

The Princess William has been safely delivered of a son.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM, KRONPRINZ.

195

BISMARCK TO THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK.

May 7, '82.

I thank your Imperial Highness most respectfully for the gracious intelligence, and beg to proffer my most humble congratulations on this event, which is so extremely gratifying to the Imperial House and to the whole country.

BISMARCK.

196

COUNT V. SECKENDORFF TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *January* 25, '83.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I am commissioned by their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess to send you a medal commemorating this day *—January 25, 1883—which their Imperial Highnesses hope your Excellency will give them the pleasure of accepting as a mark of their extreme friendly feelings and unqualified gratitude.

Accept the expression of my highest esteem, with which I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient
COUNT SECKENDORFF,
Lord in Waiting.

197

THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK TO BISMARCK.

THE NEW PALACE, POTSDAM, *May* 14, '84.

With many thanks for sending me the fair copy in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, I wish to ask you if we can speak on other questions here or in Berlin.

Should you decide to come here, I will only mention that two o'clock is our dinner hour, and eight o'clock that of the so-called *thé*.

Should you prefer not to take any "nourishment" with us, only let us know which of your free hours you can spend with us here in the country.

We could receive you in our house in Berlin to-morrow, Thursday, May 15th, between twelve o'clock and a quarter to one.

In view of the approaching "*revirements*," I am extremely desirous of speaking to you quite confidentially,

* The Crown Prince and Princess's silver wedding.

before the appointments are definitely made, about filling our German post.

Your very obedient
FRIEDRICH WILHELM, K. P.

198

GENERAL v. ALBEDYLL TO BISMARCK.

EMS, *July 7, '85.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I feel that I ought to tell you the substance of an interview I had yesterday with his Imperial Highness, the Crown Prince.

It was the outcome of a report I made to his Imperial Highness a fortnight ago, on the fainting-fit with which his Majesty the Emperor was seized after his arrival at Ems.

It appears that in consequence of this report very serious deliberations have taken place in the Crown Prince's household. The result of these deliberations is, as I gathered from the remarks made by his Imperial Highness, the Crown Prince, in our yesterday's interview, that it has been decided, in case of a change in the occupancy of the throne, that everything concerning the Government shall remain as it is at present.

The Crown Prince stated this most decidedly, in a manner which showed perfectly clearly that it was not alone his view, but that it had been carefully weighed with the Crown Princess.

The chief idea running through what the Crown Prince said, however, was that of the arrangement and the understanding with you. He said repeatedly that he urgently desires this understanding, and that he regards it as an absolutely necessary and indispensable condition for his future government.

In reply to questions as to what attitude I thought your Excellency might assume towards this, I could only say that I was unable to give any opinion whatever.

I do not think it necessary to mention here the other matters discussed by his Imperial Highness, but simply to inform your Excellency of the views at present held in the Crown Prince's household.

His Imperial Highness told me that your Excellency will be at the New Palace to-day. You will certainly find my communications confirmed by the impressions you will obtain there. Your Excellency will also, no doubt, consider what standpoint you will take towards the advances which may be confidently expected from the Crown Prince and Princess. I live and die—as your Excellency knows—in the conviction that a future without such an understanding is not to be thought of, and this conviction increased my obligation to bring the above to your Excellency's notice.

My first idea was to come to Berlin, in order to speak to your Excellency myself; I gave up that idea, however, as it would have been noticed, and am writing, as I think it wil' be of extreme importance to your Excellency to know the views held by the Crown Prince and Princess.

His Majesty the Emperor feels better every day; the only alterations that can be noticed are diminished power of movement, and frequently recurring attacks of weariness. There are no evidences on which apprehensions of a recurrence of such seizures could be based. I cannot but say, however, that the last fainting-fit has left a very deep impression on me, especially as it came without any previous warning, and that the seizure was a very severe one, and was very close to the moment in which a recall to life would have been no longer possible.

In most sincere devotion, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

V. ALBEDYLL.

199

(Draft.)

BISMARCK TO GENERAL ALBEDYLL.

VARZIN, *July* 16, '85.

As you rightly presupposed, I was in the New Palace on the 7th, and his Imperial Highness spoke to me in the same tenor as to you, in a very gracious manner, and with unqualified confidence, during a walk in the garden. I was extremely gratified by the kindliness of feeling he showed towards me, though it also somewhat embarrassed me. In the first place, such interviews are painful to me, in view of my personal feelings towards the Emperor; I say to myself that they could not take place *in his presence,* and I cannot simply assume that I shall outlive his Majesty. I am younger than he is, but not so well-preserved. Moreover, my powers for work are no longer equal to what is required of them; I am eating into the capital. I cannot leave my old master's service against his will and in disgrace; that became clear to me when I saw him stretched on the ground by Nobiling's bullet. It was, however, my hope and my wife's that *if,* by God's will, I outlive the Emperor, I would pass the rest of my life in the country, and, like a pensioned court-actor, would exchange the stage for the stalls. On the other hand, if I live until he assumes the Government, the Crown Prince will be my King. Thinking as I do, I cannot deny him what remains to me of my powers to work, if he considers that he needs my services, and demands them of me, without expecting from me actions prejudicial to the country, to the dynasty, or to my honour. I was gratified by the cordial manner in which the Crown Prince expressed his confidence in me, but the feeling of being much more used up than he and the world imagine, is strong in me. As

the Emperor is so much stronger since he has been at Ems, I may hope that God will leave him with us much longer yet, and spare me the *ultra posse*.

With the old friendship, Yours,

V. Bismarck.

200

The Crown Princess Frederick to Bismarck.

Berlin, *December* 24, '85.

Honoured Prince,

When you dined with us recently, you liked the taste of the Moselle wine which was served; it would give us great pleasure if you will accept a few bottles from us for Christmas.

We have heard with extreme regret that you have been so ill, and only hope that it is not due to your having overtired yourself when you were out last.

With best wishes to the Princess, your

V. Crown Princess.

201

Aide-de-camp v. Plessen to Bismarck.

The Palace (Berlin), *May* 15, '86.

Your Excellency,

It is my duty to report that, while at tea yesterday evening, at half-past nine, with the Empress, and the Grand-Duchess, and Prince Ludwig of Baden, his Majesty the Emperor and King was seized with a kind of paralysis, became confused in his utterances, and finally lost the power of speech. He was conveyed to his bed, and recovered shortly afterwards. The night was a good one. At seven o'clock this

morning the Emperor drank a cup of tea in his bed, and was quite clear in mind and speech. When he arose at nine o'clock, some confusion in his remarks and a certain unnatural excitation were observable. The condition has apparently improved during the morning; the Emperor is less agitated, but he complains of headache and feels exhausted.

Your Excellency will receive news again this evening.

Your Excellency's
most obedient
v. Plessen.
Aide-de-camp on duty.

202

Aide-de-camp Count Lehndorff to Bismarck.

Berlin, *March* 4, '88, 5 p. m.

Your Excellency,

I beg to report that his Majesty the Emperor and King has not left his bed to-day, and is suffering from intermittent pains proceeding from an affection of the bladder. Everything, unfortunately, points to the imminence of a crisis similar to those experienced several times during the past few months. Narcotics have not yet been administered, and the pains are not such as to render this necessary for the moment; their application will be delayed as long as possible, and it is hoped may be avoided altogether. The Emperor is not very uneasy, and not at all low-spirited; the trouble was first observed about forty-eight hours ago.

Her Majesty the Empress commands me to tell you that all these things which have happened lately weigh so very heavily on her; and that she is convinced that you feel with her. Your Excellency's most obedient

Count Lehndorff.

203

COUNT LEHNDORFF TO BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *March* 5, '88, 10.10 A. M.

His Majesty passed the rest of yesterday *fairly* favourably, although he was troubled with fitful pains. The last attack, at five o'clock this morning, rendered an injection of morphia necessary; both before and after that, however, the Emperor obtained a considerable amount of sleep, so that the night cannot be considered quite a bad one. The obedient undersigned was with his Majesty for some time early this morning, and was surprised to find how well his Majesty was, both in appearance and spirits, as compared with previous similar occasions.

It is to be hoped that this favourable condition is not entirely to be ascribed to the reaction of the morphia; in any case it was very gratifying and ought to be mentioned. There is no means of judging the extent to which narcotics must be used. The appetite is still fairly good, and there are no other unfavourable symptoms.

COUNT LEHNDORFF.

Aide-de-camp on duty.

204

AIDE-DE-CAMP V. BROESIGKE TO BISMARCK.

THE PALACE, *March* 6, '88.

The physicians are not satisfied with the way in which his Majesty the Emperor and King has passed the afternoon.

His Majesty has eaten very little, but sleeps on the whole quietly.

Morphia has not been administered during the day; it is still questionable whether it will be necessary in the night.

C. BROESIGKE.

Aide-de-camp on duty.

205

AIDE-DE-CAMP v. BROESIGKE TO BISMARCK.

THE PALACE, *March* 8, '88.

The night has not given the invigorating sleep the physicians hoped for.

In consequence of this the forces and the pulse are no better, and the condition continues serious.

C. BROESIGKE.

206

AIDE-DE-CAMP v. LIPPE TO BISMARCK.

March 8, '88, 8.10 A. M.

His Majesty is becoming *very* considerably weaker; the pulse ceases from time to time.

His Royal Highness Prince William has been summoned to the Palace at the request of the physicians.

v. LIPPE.
Aide-de-camp.

207

AIDE-DE-CAMP v. PETERSDORFF TO BISMARCK.

THE PALACE, *March* 9, '88. 2.55.

According to the physicians, there is again a change for the worse in his Majesty's condition, so that notice has just been sent to the Imperial family.

VON PETERSDORFF.
Aide-de-camp on duty.

208

COUNT RADOLINSKI, COURT CHAMBERLAIN, TO BISMARCK.

(Telegram handed in at Landshut, March 11, 1888, at 11 A. M.)

TO THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR, PRINCE BISMARCK,
BERLIN.

His Majesty has again commanded me to beg your Excellency to ask those of the Ministers who would wish to

greet his Majesty, to come as far as Leipzig, as his Majesty can see nobody after the train has passed Bitterfeld. It is left to your Excellency's option alone to greet his Majesty either at Leipzig or Bitterfeld. All the gentlemen are requested to wear undress uniform. Receptions or leave-takings at Charlottenburg are out of all question.

RADOLINSKI.

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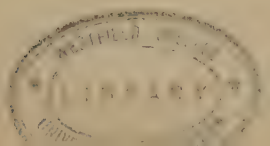

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